

## CHAPTER 30

### ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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#### INTRODUCTION

THE eighth and ninth centuries were a formative period for medieval art. By the end of the ninth century fundamental attitudes to art had been established in the Latin, Greek and Islamic worlds, and the essential architectural forms that would characterise their religious structures for centuries to come had been defined. Moreover, the role of pictorial arts in religious practice had been actively contested, debated, and eventually largely established. Western Christendom adopted a position between the aniconism of Islam and the intense veneration of sacred icons in Byzantium, emphasising the role of art to embellish holy places and objects and to communicate Christian ideas and Christian history.

The historical significance of medieval art and the conscious intentions of medieval artists have long been defined primarily in referential rather than contextual terms, emphasising copying rather than creation as the fundamental character of early medieval art. Certainly many links between the art of the early middle ages and that of early Christian antiquity have been discovered and explicated in terms of both form and content, style and iconography.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the understanding of an artistic creation such as the Douce ivory book cover (Plate 1) requires the identification of the pictorial models upon which some of its images closely rely.<sup>2</sup> Even when early sources were clearly followed and evoked, however, their meaning was often altered in original ways,<sup>3</sup> in this example so as to bear upon contemporary Carolingian political and theological controversies. Engagement with the present far outweighed interest in the past, and recent studies have sought to understand how early medieval western art contributed to

<sup>1</sup> Krautheimer (1942).

<sup>2</sup> Goldschmidt (1914), no. 5. See discussion in Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), p. 229, emphasising the derivative quality and stylistic 'misunderstandings'.

<sup>3</sup> Kessler (1990a); Nees (1992a).

the central mission defined in contemporary documents, leading the Christian community towards salvation.<sup>4</sup>

Rome plays a large role in the art of the early middle ages, but not as the Rome of Augustus or even of Constantine so much as of St Peter. The eighth and ninth centuries witnessed the emergence of the papal temporal state, of the notion of the papacy as a supreme ecclesiastical and even secular power, of attempts to emulate Roman liturgy and canon law, and of artistic references to Rome. The Godescalc Gospel Lectionary from AD 781–3, for example, contained an image of the fountain of life which recalled the occasion in whose honour the book was made, the baptism of Charlemagne's sons by the pope in the Lateran Baptistery at Rome. As had been the case in the series of paintings and books brought to Northumbria by Benedict Biscop at the end of the seventh century,<sup>5</sup> the Roman material evoked by this image was venerable but not ancient, for it was either still in contemporary use or apparently was regarded as such. In this light even the conscious evocation of the great early Christian basilicas of Rome in early Carolingian architecture can be seen not as a retrospective 'renaissance' but as linkage with the living tradition of papal Rome.<sup>6</sup>

The problematic tendency to see the early medieval west in the Hegelian sense of a recipient rather than a creative culture<sup>7</sup> also underlies the historiographical tradition of asserting dependence upon borrowings from the earlier and contemporary cultures of the eastern Mediterranean,<sup>8</sup> which accepts the mechanism of external reference while altering the source of influence. A significant body of scholarship has sought to document with specific examples the conception of oriental influence,<sup>9</sup> but all such examples have been contested.<sup>10</sup> The fundamental evidence adduced is primarily based upon supposed stylistic and to a lesser extent iconographic similarities with eastern Mediterranean art commonly later in date, relying upon the imaginative historical reconstruction of an eastern Mediterranean art of the

<sup>4</sup> See the *Admonitio Generalis* of 789, in *MGH Cap.* 1, no. 22, also trans. in King (1987), p. 209. See also discussion of this document and related questions by Contreni, pp. 709–73 above.

<sup>5</sup> Neuman de Vegvar (1987), pp. 112–67.

<sup>6</sup> The essential guide for what the Carolingian court actually sought and acquired from Rome, at least in regard to books, is Bullough (1977). <sup>7</sup> Hegel (1899), pp. 341–2.

<sup>8</sup> The theory of 'oriental influence' can be traced back at least to the beginning of the twentieth century, in Josef Strzygowski's sensational and controversial theory that the essential elements of medieval art were derived not from debased classical forms but from a living Near Eastern tradition which determined the anti-classicism of the Germanic north; see Strzygowski (1901), a later formulation in Strzygowski (1923).

<sup>9</sup> See Hodges and Whitehouse (1985), and for important early studies, Åberg (1943–6); Ebersolt (1928); Demus (1970), pp. 45–50; Kitzinger (1977), pp. 113–22. For a bibliography on the topic see Nees (1985a), pp. 122–37.

<sup>10</sup> Raftery (1965); Schapiro and Seminar (1973); Nees (1978).

early period now largely absent because of the destruction wrought by Byzantine Iconoclasm in the eighth and early ninth century. Only in recent years have attempts been made to explain some similarities between prior western and subsequent eastern material by positing autonomous western creativity that played a significant role in influencing the east,<sup>11</sup> and in broader terms by a recognition that already in the late antique period the west neither was, nor saw itself as, an inferior cultural backwater eager for any and all eastern fashions in art or thought.<sup>12</sup> Most recently historians and art historians have attempted to define in a more subtle way the connections between related phenomena in both east and west.<sup>13</sup>

No single approach to early medieval art holds sway in contemporary scholarship,<sup>14</sup> and it would be both idiosyncratic and perverse to deny that the source- and style-criticism that previously dominated the field remain widely practised and fruitful approaches. Of growing importance is contextual criticism, seeking to understand the work of art in relation to specific contemporary concerns of many differing natures, for example those having to do with the liturgy.<sup>15</sup> In the Latin west, service books such as lectionaries and sacramentaries became, for the first time during this period, major recipients of luxurious artistic treatment (Plates 15, 16), and the subject matter of the decoration is often directly liturgical.<sup>16</sup> Indeed the altar came to be the focus of luxurious objects in many different media, including ivory fans, diptychs and combs, enamel and metalwork chalices, patens, reliquaries, and covers of the liturgical books. On the other hand, increasing attention has been paid to what have sometimes been termed 'popular' attitudes towards early medieval art, for example the production of images with distinctly magical and protective qualities, and of images used in connection with pilgrimages and other popular religious practices, in both the east and the west.<sup>17</sup> Even illuminated manuscripts partook of this trend, in a number of instances being associated with burials or carrying images of a distinctly apotropaic character.<sup>18</sup>

#### PATRONAGE

In late antiquity, the traditional concentration of patronage in urban centres changed, as throughout the Roman world country villas became primary

<sup>11</sup> Buckton (1988); Osborne (1990).

<sup>12</sup> Brown (1976).

<sup>13</sup> McCormick (1986).

<sup>14</sup> For a descriptive overview see Kessler (1990b).

<sup>15</sup> Galavaris (1970), with literature, to which may be added the important remarks with reference to Byzantine architecture in Krautheimer (1975), pp. 312–15. For the west a leading exponent of liturgical connections with respect to architecture is Heitz (1980).

<sup>16</sup> Reynolds (1983).

<sup>17</sup> Vikan (1982). See also Brown (1981).

<sup>18</sup> Nees (1987), pp. 189–212; Caviness (1989); Wharton (1990).

aristocratic residences, with elaborate floor mosaics and wall-paintings, and collections of objects in precious metals, especially silver. The eighth and ninth centuries were in many respects the culmination of this development, when artistic patronage and activity did continue in such surviving cities as Rome, Trier and Cologne, but came increasingly to be concentrated in royal courts and especially in monasteries, both of which were generally located away from cities.<sup>19</sup>

Court patronage was scarcely new to this period, but its focus and character had shifted with the decline of the cities. Public works such as large baths and markets ceased to be produced at all, and even such urban churches as continued to be built or rebuilt were carried out by bishops and local clergy from their own resources. Court patronage shifted primarily to luxury arts in textiles and precious metals, often decorating objects intimately connected with imperial and royal symbolism such as crowns.<sup>20</sup> The elaborate devices surrounding the imperial throne in the palace at Constantinople, with twittering mechanical birds and other spectacular automata, were first described and probably created in this period,<sup>21</sup> and a number of elaborate thrones survive such as the probably ninth-century bronze 'Throne of Dagobert',<sup>22</sup> and the carved ivory throne of the Carolingian Charles the Bald, now in the Vatican where it has long been venerated as the *Cathedra Petri* or throne of St Peter (frontispiece).<sup>23</sup>

Imperial and aristocratic villas had been decorated with scenes of hunting and combat throughout the Roman world and beyond in late antiquity, and the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors, which may have been executed and was certainly visible during the eighth and ninth centuries, showed a magnificent hunt.<sup>24</sup> Pictish monuments of the eighth or ninth centuries such as the large stone from Hilton of Cadboll show the currency of related iconography in the west in the period, even if its precise relationship to religious or historical ideology, rather than to contemporary aristocratic life, has not been clearly defined (Plate 2).<sup>25</sup> The royal hunt was a prominent feature of western aristocratic life at this period, as throughout the middle ages and beyond, and was an important theme in contemporary poetry.<sup>26</sup> It is not surprising to find hunting scenes entering sacred contexts, as for example stag hunts in the illustrations of the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter, and combats with animals decorating canon tables of a number of ninth-century Carolingian manuscripts. The metaphoric conception of the ruler as

<sup>19</sup> See Verhulst, chapter 18, above.

<sup>20</sup> Schramm and Mütherich (1981), no. 39.

<sup>21</sup> Mango (1972), pp. 160–5.

<sup>22</sup> Roth (1986), pl. 68; Schramm and Mütherich (1981), no. 57.

<sup>23</sup> Nees (1991).

<sup>24</sup> Nordhagen (1963), arguing for a date c. 700.

<sup>25</sup> I. Henderson (1989); Ritchie (1989), p. 9; I. Henderson (1986), p. 91 and fig. 5.7b.

<sup>26</sup> Godman (1990).

triumphator over malevolent beasts or human enemies is indeed a favourite image of early Carolingian art related to the court, with the ruler appearing as the Christian soldier (Plate 3).<sup>27</sup> In a more distant sense the very frequent image of Christ trampling upon beasts was evidently a special favourite of the court art of Charlemagne (Plate 1).<sup>28</sup>

The focus of court art was the palace. In Byzantium the great city of Constantinople remained the essential imperial seat and also fortress, but elsewhere rural palace-villas became characteristic. Early Islam is characterised by a long series of such structures, notably the Umayyad palaces at Mshatta, Qasr al-Hayr and Khirbat al-Mafjar, all characterised by at least symbolic if not necessarily effective fortification, private religious centre, imposing vaulted reception chambers, elaborate mosaic and painted decoration, and luxurious baths and other living areas.<sup>29</sup> The complex as a whole is strikingly comparable to the best preserved of western palace complexes of the period, Charlemagne's Aachen, which was also a non-urban seat with baths, large formal reception room and imposing vaulted octagonal chapel (Plate 4).<sup>30</sup>

Aachen was by no means a unique type of complex in the west at this period, even if its specific form and scale were unusual. Its construction was preceded and influenced by smaller court centres such as Lombard Cividale in northern Italy, Bavarian Regensburg, and earlier Frankish villas at Worms and elsewhere.<sup>31</sup> Aachen asserts the royal capital as a symbolic centre, at least in the later years of Charlemagne and early years of Louis the Pious, although the Frankish court long remained itinerant among many different villas, some of which were themselves impressive artistic centres. The villa at Ingelheim was used by Charlemagne from the 780s, and by the 820s under Louis the Pious was provided with extensive cycles of wall-paintings in its chapel and its separate royal hall.<sup>32</sup> In the middle of the ninth century Charles the Bald, inspired by Aachen, built a palace and chapel for himself at Compiègne.<sup>33</sup>

Luxurious objects in precious metals and gems had always been associated with court patronage. Whereas those works had in antiquity often been for private use, their eighth- and ninth-century equivalents were essentially public political statements.<sup>34</sup> The use of gold jewellery to mark aristocratic and royal status had long been true of Celtic and Germanic

<sup>27</sup> Sears (1990); also Goldschmidt (1914), no. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Goldschmidt (1914), nos. 1, 5, 13.

<sup>29</sup> O. Grabar (1973), pp. 139–87; Ettinghausen (1972).

<sup>30</sup> Schramm and Mütherich (1981), nos. 1–6. For the chapel at Aachen, see also Bandmann (1965); Kreusch (1965); Hugot (1965). <sup>31</sup> Ewig (1963).

<sup>32</sup> Lammers (1972). For an English translation of the description of the decoration see Godman (1985), pp. 250–7. <sup>33</sup> Vicillard-Troiekouroff (1971).

<sup>34</sup> Riché (1972).

practice in the west, as seen for example in the great Sutton Hoo ship-burial of the seventh century, and the elaborate grave goods in Frankish and other Continental royal and aristocratic cemeteries from the fifth to the seventh century. In the British Isles and the Scandinavian north the eighth and ninth centuries represent the pinnacle of this tradition in the technical brilliance, complexity and scale of personal jewellery such as the magnificent Hunterston and Tara brooches of eighth-century Britain and Ireland (Plate 5) or a silver-gilt brooch in the Borre style from Rinkaby.<sup>35</sup> Nothing so elaborate survives on the Continent, although some enamelled and gold jewels are impressive, while the richest decoration was reserved for elaborate reliquaries, some of which were apparently for private courtly use.<sup>36</sup> Carved rock crystals constitute a distinctive class of Carolingian luxury production, the great majority decorated with crucifixions and closely associated with the altar and liturgical objects, but the largest of the group, telling the story of Susanna and the Elders in a series of lively narrative scenes, was made for, or at the behest of, a Frankish king and certainly reflects royal political concerns (Plate 6).<sup>37</sup>

If court patronage may be said to be an intensification and narrowing of earlier practice, monastic patronage may be said to be a dramatically new and broadening phenomenon. The later seventh century saw a notable shift throughout the Christian world. From this period monasteries in the British Isles and those founded or stimulated by Insular pilgrims and clerics across the western European Continent were clearly functioning as major collections of imported works of arts, as architectural centres, often with impressive stone carvings, such as the Ruthwell cross of the eighth century (Plate 7),<sup>38</sup> and as active scriptoria producing increasingly elaborate sacred manuscripts for their own use and, in many cases, for export. The religious foundations on the Continent were in the eighth century provided with increasing royal support and given a central role in royal administration. St Denis was not only the site of Pippin's coronation; it was also his place of burial. Abbot Fulrad of St Denis was the royal chaplain, and Pippin's last testament ordered the rebuilding of the church on an exceptionally large scale for its new consecration in the presence of Charlemagne in 775.<sup>39</sup> Major foundations, often with enormous new church buildings, were constructed in the East Frankish territories at Lorsch, Fulda and other centres.<sup>40</sup> The major monastic reform council held under Louis the Pious' direct imperial patronage in 816–17 probably resulted, if only indirectly, in new building

<sup>35</sup> Stevenson (1974); Youngs (1989), no. 69; Graham-Campbell and Kidd (1980), fig. 91.

<sup>36</sup> Schramm and Mütherich (1981), nos. 17 and 24.

<sup>37</sup> Schramm and Mütherich (1981), no. 31; Kornbluth (1992).

<sup>38</sup> Schapiro (1944); Meyvaert (1982). <sup>39</sup> Crosby (1987), pp. 51–83; Jacobsen (1983b).

<sup>40</sup> Krautheimer (1942).

projects and conceptions, of which the fullest surviving evidence is the Plan of St Gall of c. 820 (Plate 8).<sup>41</sup> The design and construction of such a large and complex monastic institution, whose central enclosed courtyard, the cloister, sought to preserve the isolation of the monks from the large surrounding lay community, is both a characteristic and highly original element of the art of the ninth century and a precondition for much of the artistic production of that and later periods, such as architectural sculpture and mural painting.

Luxuriously decorated books, some with figural illustrations, were produced in the Roman world from at least the fourth and increasingly from the fifth century with both secular and Christian content,<sup>42</sup> but few would argue that book illumination held a central place in early Christian art, as it clearly did in the art of the eighth and ninth centuries, to be discussed in detail below.<sup>43</sup> Production of books was essential in the west at this time, for use in pastoral and missionary work. Increasingly important links between the monasteries and royal patrons also encouraged the production of luxurious books within monastic scriptoria for the personal use of royalty and for royal gift-giving, and the growing educational enterprise increasingly concentrated in the monasteries resulted in the production of large numbers of books, some of which were decorated with ornaments and figures. Production and illumination of religious texts were also pious labours undertaken by monks in hope of furthering their own salvation, as numerous inscriptions and images attest. The introductory miniature in a late eighth-century psalter with commentary from Weissenburg in Alsace (Vat. pal. lat. 67) shows Erembertus, possibly the scribe or painter as well as donor, as a humble servant supplicating his saintly patron Martin of Tours for the latter's indulgence (Plate 9).<sup>44</sup> Lists of names of the monks in monasteries linked by prayer confraternities were on some occasions richly illustrated with ornament and figures (Plate 10), as in the splendid *Liber Viventium* from the monastery of Pfäfers (St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, cod. Fab. 1).<sup>45</sup>

#### THE PERSONALITY OF IMAGES

Works of art of the eighth and ninth centuries were frequently personal in subject matter and reference. The icon won its central place in Byzantine art

<sup>41</sup> Horn and Born (1979) 1, pp. xx–25, arguing for a direct copying of a plan drawn up at the conference and preserved at court. For different views see Nees (1986) and Jacobsen (1992).

<sup>42</sup> Weitzmann (1971), pp. 96–125, and for an overview Weitzmann (1977).

<sup>43</sup> Scant evidence connects book art with monasteries in the late antique period, the few surviving de luxe manuscripts seeming, whether having Christian or secular content, more probably associated with either urban or aristocratic patronage.

<sup>44</sup> Eggenberger (1982). <sup>45</sup> Euw (1989).

and spiritual life, where 'the experience it offers – in a sense, demands – is intensely personal and immediate'.<sup>46</sup> Icon is a term conventionally used by historians to refer to a special class of images which are at once sanctified through ritual procedures of various kinds, and sanctified as channels for the transmission of prayer from earth to heaven and for the transmission of the holy from heaven to earth.<sup>47</sup> Icons could be and were made of any material, whether paint, mosaic, stone sculpture, metal or ivory, and could portray any sacred subject, such as an event from the Gospel narrative like the Crucifixion, or an image of Christ or the Virgin.<sup>48</sup> A most common and characteristic form is the image of the saint or holy man whose protection was sought by all levels of society from the emperor to the common folk.

The production of iconic and other forms of highly personal images was not limited to Byzantium. Byzantine icons found their way to Rome, where some icons of this early period are still preserved at *Sta Maria Antiqua*, *Sta Maria Nova*, *Sta Maria in Trastevere* and elsewhere,<sup>49</sup> and thence spread elsewhere in the west, even as far as Northumbria, where local artists could take up and develop the type translated into stone or wood carvings.<sup>50</sup> Portraits, not usually regarded as icons, were in fact characteristic of much of the figural artistic production of the period, including not only the common portraits of Evangelists in Gospel manuscripts (Plate 32) but of other authors such as David. Portraits of patrons and even self-portraits of scribes are another feature of works of this period, at least in the west. The Carolingian King Charles the Bald was portrayed kneeling before the Cross, in his private Prayer Book (Plate 11),<sup>51</sup> or receiving the gift of a great Bible from his monks (Plate 12);<sup>52</sup> the monk Erembertus (Plate 9) stands humbly before his saintly patron. Artists of the period sometimes appear to have closely identified with the images they created. Thus the scribe Thomas of the Gospel Book in the cathedral treasury of Trier, cod. 61 (Plate 13), not only signs his name beside his own most original creation, a tetramorphic image, but writes Thomas as an identifying inscription beside only that single apostle in a cycle including portraits of all twelve apostles.<sup>53</sup>

The image of the holy man or of his miraculous deeds was in north-western Europe accompanied by the association of important works of art with him as either maker or user. Thus both the so-called *Cathach of St Columba* and the *Book of Durrow*, respectively a small *Psalter* and small *Gospel Book* of the seventh century, were from a very early date associated

<sup>46</sup> Vikan (1988), p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Beck (1975), with literature.

<sup>48</sup> For the most important group of icons from this period see Weitzmann (1976).

<sup>49</sup> Bertelli (1961); Kitzinger (1955); Belting (1990).

<sup>50</sup> Nees (1983b); Neuman de Vegvar (1987), pp. 203–37.

<sup>51</sup> Deshman (1980).

<sup>52</sup> In general on ruler portraits see Bullough (1975).

<sup>53</sup> Alexander (1978), no. 26; Netzer (1989, 1994).

with St Columba (or Columcille) of Iona, while later the Book of Kells came to be seen as one of his chief relics.<sup>54</sup> Patterns of patronage and gift-giving reinforced the personal character of art, and luxury illuminated manuscripts from the Carolingian courts lend support to the view that artistic production occurred to a very large degree on an *ad hoc* basis, at the behest of individual donors.<sup>55</sup>

#### ICONOCLASM AND THE IMAGE QUESTION

The expanded role given to images during the seventh and early eighth centuries led in the Byzantine world to the sharp reaction known as Iconoclasm, and ironically gave new force and definition to religious images. In 787, the Seventh Ecumenical Council reversed the acts of the iconoclastic synod of Constantinople of 754, which had condemned all production and use of sacred images. The Acts of Nicaea II declared that the manufacture and use of holy images were not only permissible but indeed necessary for Christian worship. Icons in general, and the icons of Christ in particular, upon which the entire debate essentially depended, were seen as a necessary acknowledgement of the reality of the Incarnation of Christ, and a channel through which, along with the sacred relics, Scripture and holy liturgy, the Christian believer came into direct contact with God.<sup>56</sup>

Iconoclasm returned in Byzantium with a new emperor in 815, but between that time and the ultimately definitive restoration of holy images in 843 no new council was held, and the second period of Iconoclasm was apparently a far less violent confrontation of rival views of Christian art. Nevertheless, the iconoclastic controversy played a major role in Byzantine culture and necessarily dominated Byzantine art for the greater part of the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>57</sup> Associated with it, if by no means necessarily either its cause or its effect, was the absence of all figural imagery from Islamic religious art from the early eighth century, when the first great Islamic monuments of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Great Mosque of Damascus were built and decorated.<sup>58</sup>

The medieval west also responded to Byzantine Iconoclasm, although in a manner which is much more difficult to describe, especially in relation to

<sup>54</sup> George Henderson (1987), pp. 179–98. For crosses in Ireland connected with holy men see Stalley (1990), with bibliography; for metalwork see especially the seventh-century Frankish objects associated with St Eloi (or Eligius) of Noyon, discussed in Vierck (1974).

<sup>55</sup> Wirth (1989), pp. 142–3 for a list of manuscripts and donations.

<sup>56</sup> The material upon which this abrupt summary depends may be found in A. Grabar (1957), with references and documents. See also Cormack (1985), and for a stimulating overview Brown (1973).

<sup>57</sup> For a range of essays on different aspects of the issue see Breyer and Herrin (1977).

<sup>58</sup> O. Grabar (1973), pp. 75–103 and 131–6.

the nature and development of western art. The iconoclastic position itself was rejected by the papacy and the rest of the western church, but apart from Rome itself and such works as the Theodotus Chapel at Sta Maria Antiqua (Plate 30),<sup>59</sup> there is only scanty and isolated evidence of reaction to the dramatic changes taking place in the east.<sup>60</sup> The official restoration of images through the Council of Nicaea in 787 led to a sharp response at the court of Charlemagne, where the very lengthy treatise known as the *Libri Carolini* was written probably during the years 792–3.<sup>61</sup> What influence did the *Libri Carolini* have upon the course of Carolingian or, more broadly, of western art? What does this treatise tell us about the west's conception of and attitude towards art?

The *Libri Carolini* vociferously rejects the Nicene contention that images of Christ or the saints could be termed sacred things that can establish contact with divinity, and hence were appropriately venerated by the faithful. Images were to be sharply distinguished from the truly sacred things such as relics, and eucharistic sacrifice and the liturgical vessels essential for its performance, the Cross and Scripture.<sup>62</sup> Images could function in two ways, by decorating and enhancing beauty, and by activating a memory, functioning as what might be termed a sign. The *Libri Carolini* often speaks of beauty; from his poetry and from works of art made for him, it is clear that Theodulf of Orléans, the work's primary author, himself had a very lively sense of visual aesthetics and a strong taste for beautiful ornamental decoration.<sup>63</sup> The adoption of decoration, which might well be purely ornamental and non-figural, as a central feature of works of art is indeed a central characteristic of art during the eighth and ninth centuries not only in the west but also in Islam and the Byzantine world. The second function of images propounded in the *Libri Carolini* is connected to the famous earlier pronouncements by Pope Gregory the Great that images could serve for the illiterate as did books for the literate, allowing the biblical stories to be recalled and ultimately helping to bring the observer to prayer.<sup>64</sup> This statement is explicitly quoted in the *Libri Carolini*, but in such a way as not to emphasise the propaedeutic role of images suggested by Gregory. On the other hand, the *Libri Carolini* clearly agrees with Gregory's statement that images with religious subjects should

<sup>59</sup> Belting (1987).

<sup>60</sup> For one possible reaction in Francia see Nees (1987).

<sup>61</sup> Freeman (1985). The work is edited by Hubert Bastgen in *MGH*, but a new edition by Freeman is shortly to appear in the same series, and it is hoped that a translation will follow.

<sup>62</sup> Chazelle (1986). <sup>63</sup> Nees (1991), pp. 21–46.

<sup>64</sup> Davis-Weyer (1971), pp. 47–9. The interpretation and meaning of this text has recently been the subject of a series of studies, including Kessler (1985), Duggan (1989), and especially Chazelle (1990).

not be either avoided or destroyed, but rather corrected and subordinated to words, which alone can clearly inform.<sup>65</sup>

It seems at first remarkable that the *Libri Carolini* says so very little about actual works of art. When specific images are mentioned, these are frequently vague 'straw men' designed to fit the author's argument rather than descriptions or analyses that can be related to contemporary Byzantine or Carolingian art. Indeed the peculiar disengagement between words and specific images was commonplace in the Carolingian period.<sup>66</sup> Even in cases like the Dagulf Psalter, where unusual prefatory texts inside the book explain the unusual iconography of the ivory covers, the juxtaposition must be made by the medieval and modern reader, not being explicit in the text, the dedication only specifying that the covers are made of ivory.<sup>67</sup> Theodulf has in fact long been famous for his apparently almost archaeologically accurate descriptions of several works of art such as an ancient silver vase and a painting of a tree with images of the liberal arts, but the former seems most likely to be an imaginary vessel rather than a real one.<sup>68</sup> Generally one should be careful not to accept Carolingian literary descriptions as simply accurate renderings of images into words, for the descriptions follow their own conventions.

Only one Carolingian work of art can be confidently related to the *Libri Carolini* in a direct way, the apse mosaic in Theodulf's own oratory at Germigny-des-Prés, depicting the Ark of the Covenant in Solomon's Temple, with two sets of cherubim stretching their wings over it (Plate 14).<sup>69</sup> Far from setting a new trend, the mosaic of Germigny remains isolated as a direct outcome of the arguments of the *Libri Carolini*, although some other attempts to trace a direct impact of the *Libri Carolini* upon Carolingian art have been made.<sup>70</sup> The *Libri Carolini* text in fact never criticises the making of images of Christ or the saints, only the allegedly idolatrous misuse of such images approved by the Nicene synod, and the absence of figural decoration in the several illuminated manuscripts associated with Theodulf need not imply total aniconism on his part either by virtue of personal conviction or alleged Visigothic heritage.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, although direct influence of the *Libri Carolini* upon the course of Carolingian and western art cannot be asserted,<sup>72</sup> the debate clearly joined with many other artistic and cultural factors to separate further the traditions and

<sup>65</sup> Chazelle (1986), pp. 180–2. <sup>66</sup> Ganz (1992).

<sup>67</sup> See Goldschmidt (1914), nos. 3–4; Holter (1980), pp. 58–66. <sup>68</sup> Nees (1991), pp. 21–46.

<sup>69</sup> Bloch (1965).

<sup>70</sup> Schnitzler (1964), and Schrade (1965), followed more recently and rejected by Wirth (1989), pp. 111–66.

<sup>71</sup> Vieillard-Troiekouroff (1975).

<sup>72</sup> Mütherich (1979).

arts of the Greek east and Latin west at a moment when the already growing separation might have been reduced. At the same time, the Gregorian view that images could serve a useful role in teaching certainly is consistent with the growing tendency during the ninth century to create works of art with increasingly complex didactic messages.

#### ICONOGRAPHY

Eighth- and ninth-century artists introduced new treatments of established image types, developed image cycles for newly composed or newly illustrated texts, created new types of portraits of authors and donors, and produced many unique images intended for special settings or functions. Although drawing upon earlier traditions, artists also altered or adapted those images to express new meanings or serve new functions of contemporary significance, as demonstrated by the few examples chosen from among a great many possibilities to be mentioned here.<sup>73</sup> This is not to say that artists of the period were unwilling to invent what seem to be entirely novel images without essential pictorial forerunners, such as the tetramorphic figure included in the early eighth-century Trier Gospels,<sup>74</sup> or the apse mosaic from Germigny (Plate 14). Rich meanings and functions penetrated apparently purely ornamental compositions, so that in this period one can meaningfully discuss non-figural iconography.<sup>75</sup>

The importance of new liturgical imagery has already been mentioned, citing illustrations in ivory of the new Roman liturgy introduced in ninth-century Francia.<sup>76</sup> Sacramentaries became an important class of illuminated manuscript, apparently for the first time, during this period. Already in the mid-eighth century sacramentaries have large cross frontispieces, and elaborate initial pages.<sup>77</sup> From the end of the eighth or the early ninth century, the Gellone Sacramentary (BN lat. 12048) uses a wide range of ornaments and figures in the margins and as initial letters. The opening initial I of the title for the first text is made up of a standing iconic image of the Virgin in elaborate courtly costume, wielding a cross in one hand and a censer in the other (Plate 15).<sup>78</sup> A new emphasis upon the Virgin's role in the Incarnation and in the liturgical life of the church is also evident in such stylistically unrelated works as the fresco cycle from Castelseprio in northern Italy.<sup>79</sup>

The mid-ninth-century Sacramentary of Bishop Drogo of Metz (BN lat. 9428) also uses letters as the basis for figural illumination, but does so in a

<sup>73</sup> Nees (1992b).

<sup>74</sup> Alexander (1978), no. 26, fig. 110.

<sup>75</sup> Elbern (1971).

<sup>76</sup> Reynolds (1983); Calkins (1983), pp. 161–93.

<sup>77</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1969), pp. 164–81, with illustrations.

<sup>78</sup> Teyssèdre (1959).

<sup>79</sup> Leveto (1990).

variety of ways. Some letters simply provide a frame for a scene, but others are opened up so as to provide within the letter itself space for appropriate figures, as the Old Testament prefigurations of the eucharistic sacrifice who are shown within the letter T opening the Canon of the Mass (Plate 16).<sup>80</sup> The sacramentary from Marmoutiers made in Tours in the mid-ninth century has not only a portrait of the 'author', Gregory the Great, and a page showing the donation of the book to Abbot Raganaldus by his monks but also a large miniature showing the different grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy from lector up to bishop.<sup>81</sup>

Other new texts were illustrated during this period, of which the most famous is probably the commentary by Beatus of Liebana on the Apocalypse, written in northern Spain during the later ninth century. Certainly meant from its inception to receive some illustrations, the earliest surviving illustrated Beatus dates from the tenth century (Plate 17).<sup>82</sup> The interest in the Apocalypse as a subject for large-scale illustration is a feature of art certainly in Francia and perhaps also in Britain. The municipal libraries of Trier, Cambrai and Valenciennes all preserve late eighth- or ninth-century richly illustrated copies of the Apocalypse.<sup>83</sup> Classical texts such as the plays of Terence and the astronomical books known as *Aratea* were copied, the illustrations in some cases following those in the late Roman manuscripts that were the source for the text.<sup>84</sup> Such manuscripts had not been produced since late antiquity and reflect the important role of ancient secular learning in Carolingian education. Other texts used in the schools, such as Boethius, *De Arithmetica*, occasionally received elaborate frontispiece miniatures,<sup>85</sup> as did some legal collections, even manuscripts which on the basis of style do not closely connect with courtly classicism (Plate 18).<sup>86</sup>

Iconographic patterns also included new treatments of established types. For example, a common arrangement found in a number of early illustrated Psalters is used in the Corbie Psalter of the early ninth century for the combat of David and Goliath, but the artist adds the blessing hand of God at the centre of the scene in order to make more explicit the salvific power. The little demonic creature above the head of the Philistine giant characterises the satanic enemy (Plate 19).<sup>87</sup> An especially important example of new forms and interpretations of traditional iconography is the image of the Crucifixion. Crucifixion images were in fact rare in early Christian art, and,

<sup>80</sup> Mütherich and Gaehte (1976), pls. 29 and 28 respectively.

<sup>81</sup> Koehler (1930), pl. 61a.

<sup>82</sup> Dodwell (1971), pp. 96–105, and Williams (1977), pp. 24–8.

<sup>83</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), figs. 167–9; Braunfels (1968), figs. on pp. 301–7. See also in general Landes (1988). <sup>84</sup> Mütherich (1990), pp. 597–601.

<sup>85</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), figs. 117–18.

<sup>86</sup> BN lat. 4404, fols. 1v–2, for which see Porcher (1965), and especially now Nelson (1989).

<sup>87</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1969), fig. 206, and for a larger selection of illustrations and discussion Braunfels (1968), pp. 156–8, pl. xxii a–d and figs. 68–83.

viewed from the standpoint of later Christian art, continued to be surprisingly infrequent up to the early ninth century. At the same time early Crucifixions tended to focus on the triumphal interpretations of the scene, depicting a living Christ, often in an overtly apocalyptic context. Towards the end of the seventh century the monk Anastasius Sinaites in his *Hodegon*, ironically wishing to demonstrate that the Logos never died, called for a diagram depicting the human Christ dead on the Cross.<sup>88</sup> This new iconography appears in Byzantine icons of the eighth and ninth centuries showing Christ with eyes closed, and from approximately the second quarter of the ninth century appears in western images. The new iconography, evidently appealing to new doctrinal and devotional concerns, formed the most frequent subject of late Carolingian ivories and crystals, and appeared often in manuscripts, of which one of the most interesting is the image before the kneeling King Charles the Bald in his private prayer book (Plate 11). Here linked with an inscription referring to the wounds of Christ, and with the liturgy for Good Friday, the image is paired with the humbly petitioning posture of the ruler to make a powerful statement about the ruler's connection with the suffering human Christ.<sup>89</sup>

The portrait of Charles the Bald is only one of a series remarkably varied in form and contents.<sup>90</sup> The presentation image of the Bible from Tours (Plate 12) shows him enthroned with his soldiers and courtiers in a composition derived from late Roman images of imperial majesty, but here adapted to suit a particular occasion and a very un-Roman crowd of monks. The extraordinary double-page image of Charles the Bald in a Gospel Book made c. 870 has him seated under a great canopy looking across the page at the image of the apocalyptic Lamb adored by twenty-four crown-bearing elders,<sup>91</sup> creating an unprecedented combination of celestial majesty and almost visionary personal contemplation. Other ruler portraits include Charles' father Louis the Pious from Hraban Maur's *In Praise of the Holy Cross* (Plate 3), in which the Carolingian interest in acrostic poems creating internal images is raised to a new level. The image of Louis as a Christian soldier, derived from images in contemporary psalters and in such allegorical works as Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, is actually composed of another series of verses spelled out by the letters upon his shield and staff and those making up his body. The text itself becomes an image, as original and rich in content as it is peculiar and, linked to Hraban's important essay on the cult of the Cross, was repeatedly copied not only in the ninth century but in later medieval centuries.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Kartsonis (1986), pp. 40–57. <sup>89</sup> Deshman (1980).

<sup>90</sup> Schramm and Mütherich (1981), nos. 51, 52 and 58; Schramm (1983).

<sup>91</sup> Fuhrmann and Mütherich (1986), no. 2 and pls. 3–4.

<sup>92</sup> Sears (1990).

## ARCHITECTURE

Across much of Italy, northern Spain and to a lesser extent Francia, buildings of the late Roman world remained in use for private and public purposes into, and in some cases throughout, the eighth and ninth centuries. The great churches of early Christian Rome are the outstanding example of architectural continuity and are important for understanding the new constructions of the period here under review, but late Roman churches also remained in use in Milan and Ravenna, in Paris and Toulouse, in Trier and Cologne among many other sites.<sup>93</sup> In a poem of c. 799 Theodulf of Orléans describes visiting Narbonne in southern Francia and finding the Roman forum and hall for justice still in use.<sup>94</sup> Continuity of use from the past is important, and should not be forgotten in turning to a consideration of the new building of the period. Yet across northern and eastern Francia, Scandinavia and much of the British Isles surviving Roman masonry buildings were rare or non-existent, and a very different tradition of timber architecture was practised. Because wood is far less permanent than stone, knowledge of this tradition is scanty, consisting largely of excavations of post-holes, later buildings believed to be based upon the same tradition, and indirect evidence in the form of pictorial representations. The so-called stave churches of Norway, although surviving only from a later date, convey something of the imposing beauty and grandeur that wooden churches could attain,<sup>95</sup> and literary sources tell of the rich decoration of wooden churches in Ireland. Most of the knowable timber buildings, however, are domestic in nature, living halls of nobles and farmers, and barns.<sup>96</sup> The Plan of St Gall (Plate 8) offers rich insight into a wide range of barns, sheds and workshops, and a rare, and therefore doubly precious, insight into everyday secular life in the period.<sup>97</sup> It is also possible to argue that the tradition of timber building played a role in the development of a new medieval aesthetic and structural system,<sup>98</sup> but nevertheless architecture of the eighth and ninth centuries can be known primarily from stone ecclesiastical buildings.

The study of western European church architecture of the eighth and ninth centuries has been dominated for the past half-century by Richard Krautheimer's great article treating 'the Carolingian revival of early Christian architecture'.<sup>99</sup> Focusing upon the use of a large, continuous transept in the court-supported monastery church at Fulda, as enlarged by Abbot Ratger from 802 to 819, which he saw as a direct and deliberate

<sup>93</sup> Krautheimer (1965).

<sup>94</sup> Nees (1991), pp. 51 and 59.

<sup>95</sup> Anker (1970), pp. 201–419.

<sup>96</sup> Sage (1965); Graham-Campbell and Kidd (1980), pp. 75–80.

<sup>97</sup> Horn and Born (1979) II, pp. 1–314.

<sup>98</sup> Horn (1958).

<sup>99</sup> Krautheimer (1942).

evocation of the Vatican Basilica of St Peter in Rome, Krautheimer compellingly linked this new plan-type with a broad cultural programme in which Charlemagne and his court sought to attach themselves through art and other means to the early Christian Roman empire, especially at the time of Constantine. He connected other important architectural works with the same historical moment and programme, suggesting that the Torhalle or Gatehouse from Lorsch specifically evoked the Arch of Constantine in Rome, and that the Palace Chapel at Aachen could be linked with Constantine's Lateran Palace in Rome.

Subsequent research on the chronology, morphology and terminology of several buildings has cast doubt upon or invalidated a number of Krautheimer's specific claims and arguments, as he himself acknowledged in important postscripts attached to reprintings of his article.<sup>100</sup> For example, St Peter's now seems not to have provided a precedent for the continuous transept of Fulda, the other apostolic basilica of St Paul's being in fact the only major Roman precedent. St Denis, dedicated in 775, seems to be more important than ever as the earliest post-antique example of this transepted basilica type. Church buildings from the time of Louis the Pious appear not to have continued the transepted basilica type but rather favoured a triple-apsed plan of the sort used by Benedict of Aniane's newly founded abbey at Corneliusmünster. Only after c. 830 with Einhard's church at Seligenstadt and the basilicas at Corvey and St Gall does the transepted or T-basilica re-emerge.<sup>101</sup> Yet Krautheimer's conception remains a vivid account of a decisive moment in European architecture. Beginning with St Denis, Carolingian and other western monastery and cathedral churches are executed on a newly enlarged scale, and follow the basic pattern of the aisled basilica with an enhanced focus upon the chief altar, often located at the crossing of nave and transept.

Burial within the church, as with Pippin's burial at St Denis, is a leading motif of major architecture, most often focusing upon a holy relic. The cult of relics was intensified in the Carolingian period, and an earlier ecclesiastical canon requiring that all altars should contain relics was promulgated for the entire Frankish realm in 801.<sup>102</sup> One architectural development associated with the growing relic cult rather than with possible reminiscences of an early Christian past is the development of large crypts giving access to the holy tombs, such as the crypts added during the later eighth century to both the eastern and western ends of St Maurice-d'Agaune, now in Switzerland.<sup>103</sup> The church of the St Gall plan (Plate 8), also double-ended, has a major crypt for the relics of the patron saint, as is the case in Seligenstadt in

<sup>100</sup> See Krautheimer (1942), postscripts (1969) and (1987).

<sup>101</sup> Jacobsen (1983a; 1990).

<sup>102</sup> See Geary (1990), pp. 36–43 with references.

<sup>103</sup> Oswald *et al.* (1966), pp. 298–9. On the double-ended churches see Mann (1961).

Germany, Nivelles in Belgium, Wilfrid's churches of Hexham and Ripon, and a number of churches in Rome and central Italy such as Sta Prassede and Farfa.<sup>104</sup>

An essentially new feature of architecture of the eighth and ninth centuries is the double-ended church already mentioned, and possibly related to it, the development of monumental, frequently towered, façades, the so-called Westworks.<sup>105</sup> Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen was provided with a tall structure, distinct from the octagon to which it was attached, whose second-floor gallery provided an elevated position from which the ruler could observe the liturgical services and also appear to those assembled in the atrium before the building.<sup>106</sup> Best preserved is Corvey in Saxony, built 873–85, with tall towers flanking the central block on the exterior and a large tribune on the upper storey overlooking the nave (Plate 20).<sup>107</sup> These new buildings either focus upon the chief relic or patron of the church, or provide a setting for the ruler or patron, or both at once, and testify again to the concentration upon powerful individuals as a central characteristic of the art of this time. This is probably the proper context in which to understand the 'triumphal arch' added in the ninth century to the royal abbey at Lorsch, which marked the way to the royal necropolis.<sup>108</sup>

The city of Rome was the major Italian centre of architectural production during the eighth and ninth centuries, especially in the first half of the latter, which saw the construction of such major new works as Sta Prassede, built by Pope Paschal I, 817–24. This church stems from a major effort to provide adequate space for the collection of relics of the martyrs, and like Fulda and other Carolingian churches was a spacious church featuring a continuous transept (Plate 21), in this case also richly decorated with mosaics and *opus sectile* pavements.<sup>109</sup> Outside the city itself, the great imperial abbey at Farfa employed many of the same features of annular crypt and continuous transept used both in Rome and in great Carolingian churches as a means for the accommodation of the relic cult. The adoption at Farfa of a western apse, however, relates exclusively to transalpine churches.<sup>110</sup> Evidently architectural ideas moved in both directions.

English ecclesiastical architecture produced large masonry churches from the late seventh century. Some of the early churches had distinctive aisle-less forms, sometimes with chambers called *porticus* flanking

<sup>104</sup> See Taylor and Taylor (1965), pp. 297–312 and 516–18 respectively; McClendon (1987), pp. 57–62.

<sup>105</sup> See Möbius (1968), pp. 9–22 and 131–48 for discussion and bibliography.

<sup>106</sup> Kreusch (1965); Heitz (1987), pp. 139–44.

<sup>107</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), pp. 63–4 and figs. 51–4; Conant (1978), pp. 63–4 and figs. 22–3.

<sup>108</sup> Jacobsen (1985).

<sup>109</sup> Krautheimer, Corbett and Frankl (1967), pp. 235–62; Krautheimer (1980), pp. 109–42. See, on the pavements, McClendon (1980).

<sup>110</sup> McClendon (1987), pp. 54–75.

the nave, as at Canterbury, and sometimes with a monocellular nave leading to a smaller rectangular sanctuary, as in the well-preserved late seventh- or possibly early eighth-century church at Escomb not far from Durham.<sup>111</sup> Such early types continued in use, as at Brixworth (Northamptonshire), dated to the early ninth century.<sup>112</sup> Elsewhere, morphologically distinct churches were produced, as in the basilica with true aisles rather than *porticus* chambers erected at Hexham in the later seventh century by Wilfrid.

To a surprising degree Ireland remained architecturally distinct. Monastic sites ranged from small hermitages of sometimes awesome asceticism, as at Skellig Michael off the western coast,<sup>113</sup> to such large complexes as Clonmacnoise and Armagh. Still relatively little known archaeologically, the larger sites appear generally to have followed the earlier tradition of building within circular enclosures marked by banks or walls. Best known are the sites of Nendrum and Armagh in the north, which had a series of enclosure rings about the major churches and domestic structures at the centre. Multiple churches were a common feature, probably reflecting differences in function rather than deriving from the multi-church monasteries known in England and on the Continent at this period.<sup>114</sup> Only in the eighth century is the first Irish church built of stone mentioned, and it is clearly then unusual, for until the eleventh century most church buildings in Ireland were made in wood. The small dry-stone oratories from western Ireland that may perhaps be dated to this period are in their small scale and rude construction characteristic of hermitages, and must not be taken to represent the achievements of Irish architects in the large and rich centres of the northern and eastern parts of the country. There wooden churches known from literary and historical sources were from the seventh century large and ornate, with decoration in painting and sculpture. The church of St Brigit at Kildare was divided into three main spaces, with a sanctuary containing the altar and tombs of the patron saint as well as of an archbishop, and with separate halls for male and female worshippers.<sup>115</sup>

Spanish architecture followed diverse patterns distinct from those elsewhere in early medieval western Europe. Spanish building traditions, moreover, offer an especially enlightening commentary upon the engagement of architectural design with broader political and social issues of the period. Surviving buildings datable to the Visigothic period include aisled basilicas such as Quintanilla de la Viñas and San Juan de Baños, while others such as San Pedro de la Nave and Santa Comba de Bande have a distinctive

<sup>111</sup> Fernie (1983), pp. 54–6. <sup>112</sup> Fernie (1983), pp. 65–9.

<sup>113</sup> Horn, Marshall and Rourke (1990). <sup>114</sup> Edwards (1990), pp. 104–21.

<sup>115</sup> Edwards (1990), pp. 121–4, with the text of Cogitosus' description. For that text see also Davis-Weyer (1971), pp. 71–2.

cross-shaped plan difficult to parallel in other earlier or contemporary tradition. Both basilican and central-plan churches sharply segregate the spaces, especially the liturgical chancel area from the nave, dramatic brightly lit spaces alternating with penumbrally dark. The frequent use of horseshoe-shaped arches along the nave arcades and at the entrance to chancel and sanctuary, a feature that was formerly thought to reflect Islamic influence although it demonstrably pre-dates the arrival of Muslims in Spain, contributes to the closing and partitioning of spaces, as seen for example at Quintanilla de las Viñas (Plate 22). Strict separation of clergy and laity was especially featured in early Spanish legislation, and the development of distinctively Spanish liturgical prayers and practices were part and parcel of the same local phenomenon.<sup>116</sup>

International architectural styles are reflected in Spanish monuments of the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The Great Mosque of Córdoba was built c. 786 by Abd al-Rahmān I, founder of the Umayyad state in Spain, closely following in its hypostyle plan the pattern established in earlier Umayyad mosques in Damascus and Jerusalem, while its startling construction of doubled arcades with contrasting voussoirs probably also recalls early Umayyad architecture.<sup>117</sup> At the turn of the ninth century the Asturian kingdom produced at San Julian de los Prados a very large open basilica with spacious continuous transept, a radical departure from the previous Spanish Christian tradition recently interpreted as a deliberate attempt to evoke the great Carolingian churches discussed previously.<sup>118</sup> A different Mozarabic style developed among the Christians living under or fleeing Muslim rule. At San Miguel de Escalada at the beginning of the tenth century, the consistent use of horseshoe arches and arcade across the nave so as to separate it from the chancel (Plate 23) harks back to churches of the Visigothic period, which were arguably evoked with special intensity as a response to persecution of the Christians under Muslim rule during the later ninth century.<sup>119</sup>

#### SCULPTURE, IVORY CARVING, METALWORK AND TEXTILES

Stone sculpture was a major form of artistic expression throughout western Europe between the seventh and tenth centuries,<sup>120</sup> taking the form of architectural sculpture as in such important Visigothic churches as Quintanilla de las Viñas (Plate 22) and S. Pedro de la Nave, church furnishings such

<sup>116</sup> Dodds (1990), pp. 16–26.

<sup>117</sup> Dodds (1990), pp. 94–5; O. Grabar (1973), pp. 130–1.

<sup>118</sup> Dodds (1990), pp. 27–37.

<sup>119</sup> Dodds (1990), pp. 47–70.

<sup>120</sup> See among the important catalogues Fossard, Vieillard-Troiekouoff and Chatel (1978); Cramp (1984); for the Italian series Nees (1985a), pp. 219–26.

as the grand baldacchinos and altars of eighth-century Lombard northern Italy, especially in the reign of Cividale,<sup>121</sup> and free-standing monumental sculpture in northern regions. Large dressed limestone memorial stelai were produced in large numbers in Scandinavia, especially on the island of Gotland, from sub-Roman times. By the eighth century truly monumental stones standing over 4 m high were produced, as for example the Lärbro monument (Plate 24). This and related stones were carved, or perhaps more properly incised, in very low relief, and were probably originally coloured (the black backgrounds that today allow the designs to be seen are modern). Interpretation of the imagery is difficult; whether the depictions of travel, warfare and ritual relate primarily to a mythological or contemporary context remains controversial.<sup>122</sup> Also difficult to assess is the chronological, functional and possible historical relationship to stone carvings elsewhere, notably the Pictish stones of Scotland (Plate 2) and the high crosses of Scotland (Plate 7), northern England and especially Ireland.

Monumental in scale, ranging from under 3 to over 7 m in height, the best known and most elaborate stone crosses of Ireland date only from the early tenth century, but others such as the north cross from the now desolate site at Ahenny (Co. Tipperary) (Plate 25) date from the ninth century at the latest, and probably from as early as the mid-eighth. The Ahenny cross is a monolith set into a separate base, and with a ring that structurally helps support the heavy arms of the cross while conveying a Christian symbolic message derived from earlier Christian iconography. The prominent rounded bosses accord with the complex interlacing ornamental designs on both faces of the cross to suggest the influence of early metal-covered wooden crosses. Although shallow and flat in such early examples as Ahenny, the carving is in true relief, with the patterns and figures standing out against a background chiselled away, and hence quite distinct in workmanship from the Scandinavian or earlier Pictish carvings, which incise the patterns into the stone. From the ninth century Irish crosses are generally dominated by panels of Christian figural iconography carved in high and rounded relief. The function and interpretation of the Irish high crosses is difficult to assess. They seldom if ever had a funereal function, but are strongly linked to monasteries. They certainly identified themselves as sacred Christian presences, often associated with the borders of the monastic enclosure and perhaps endowed with some apotropaic significance,<sup>123</sup> and probably served as the focus of prayers and processions.<sup>124</sup> As is true of their material and style, function probably varied from site to site and may also

<sup>121</sup> See Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1969) for what remains the most convenient assemblage of monuments. <sup>122</sup> Anker (1970), pp. 184–92, pl. 90.

<sup>123</sup> Nees (1983a).

<sup>124</sup> See discussion in Edwards (1990), pp. 163–4; Stalley (1990).

have altered over time. The tradition of stone sculpture throughout northern Britain and Ireland may have been stimulated initially by Roman art and early Christian imagery, but developed within the complex and shifting context of a distinctive north Insular cultural milieu also apparent in metalwork and manuscript illumination.<sup>125</sup>

The Pictish stones of northern and eastern Scotland began with a so-called Class I series, incised designs of stereotyped patterns known as Pictish symbols, placed on undressed or roughly shaped stones, that stem from the pre-Christian period. If correctly interpreted as memorial stones in association with graves,<sup>126</sup> they are more analogous to the Gotlandic stones than to high crosses in Ireland. The Class II series continues to use some Pictish symbols, but now worked in high relief on carefully shaped and generally two-sided slabs, and includes elaborate figural iconography, as on the Hilton of Cadboll stone (Plate 2) with its large symbol in the upper square panel and hunting scene in the lower. The abstractly rendered vine border with birds on this stone ultimately reflects the Mediterranean tradition, probably in this case as transmitted through Northumbrian works such as the Ruthwell cross (Plate 7), which employs similar patterns on its side faces. The Pictish Class II stones frequently carry large crosses on at least one side, crosses sometimes as at Aberlemno with rings and interlace ornament evoking the Irish series, but distinct from those monuments in being always relief slabs rather than free-standing crosses fully in the round.<sup>127</sup>

The Ruthwell cross itself (Plate 7), erected and preserved in what is now southwesternmost Scotland but closely linked stylistically and linguistically with the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon kingdom, is but the best known representative of an imposing mass of stone sculpture and architecture produced in the northern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, whose complete cataloguing opens many ways for further research.<sup>128</sup> Its elaborate and difficult iconographic programme, which continues to be the focus of controversy and debate, both reflects the monastic spirituality of the Insular monks and responds to the cult of iconic images then so important an issue throughout the Mediterranean world and its hinterlands.<sup>129</sup>

Sculpture on the Continent seems at first sharply different from that seen in Scandinavia and the British Isles, far more likely to be architectural in context and function, flat relief in technique, and less likely to be figural. Stone sculpture appears to have been consistently associated with high

<sup>125</sup> Edwards (1990), pp. 161–71; essays in Higgitt (1986).

<sup>126</sup> Thomas (1984).

<sup>127</sup> For a convenient and richly illustrated introduction to the Pictish stones see Ritchie (1989).

<sup>128</sup> Cramp (1984). For a convenient study of the monument in context, with earlier literature, see Neuman de Vegvar (1987), pp. 203–37. For the proceedings of an important recent conference devoted to the Ruthwell cross see Cassidy (1992).

<sup>129</sup> See Ó Carragáin (1986); and Haney (1985).

aristocratic and royal patronage, in Spain (Plate 22) as elsewhere.<sup>130</sup> In the Lombard duchy of Spoleto, an altar slab of the mid-eighth century from S. Pietro in Ferentillo bears a long inscription naming Duke Ilderic Dagileopa, and showing the duke as a praying figure standing beside another man identified by inscription as the sculptor Ursus.<sup>131</sup> The altar, inscribed with the names of Dukes Pemmo and Ratchis (duke and then king 744–9) from San Martino in Cividale, depicts the majestic Christ enthroned and surrounded by angels on the front, and the Adoration of the Magi on one of the sides, images of authority perhaps of special interest to the patron. Iconographically linked to works from the Christian northwest and southeast,<sup>132</sup> the workmanship is in a very flat relief, with very awkwardly proportioned figures. It is then startling to look at the eighth-century sculpture from the 'Tempietto' of Sta Maria in Valle also in Cividale, which has a row of naturalistic standing female saints above the door (Plate 26). The difference between the Ratchis altar and the 'Tempietto' figures may be related not only to the latter's later date,<sup>133</sup> but also to the different material employed, stucco rather than stone.<sup>134</sup>

Unfortunately stucco is far more perishable than stone, and its general disappearance no doubt distorts our picture of large-scale sculpture, especially in the Frankish kingdom, where it seems to have been very popular. The virtually complete disappearance of wood-carving from the entire region save the Scandinavian north, where magnificent architectural carving in wood survives, especially in the stave-churches of Norway, to give a hint of the lost achievements in this medium,<sup>135</sup> is no doubt an even greater and more distorting loss. Chance survivals from early Mediterranean sites, such as the carved doors and ceiling beams from the sixth-century church of Justinian at Mount Sinai,<sup>136</sup> support the literary and archaeological evidence for the importance of wood carving.<sup>137</sup>

Perhaps a preference for carving in wood and moulding in stucco helps to explain the small amount and modest quality of figural stone carving in the Frankish heartlands.<sup>138</sup> Architectural sculpture such as capitals continued to

<sup>130</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1969), pp. 84–7; Thilo (1970).

<sup>131</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1969), fig. 278.

<sup>132</sup> For the use of this relief in a major argument for the importance of 'oriental influence' see Francovich (1961).

<sup>133</sup> Many dates have been proposed, but this position was argued in great detail in the exhaustive study by L'Orange and Torp (1977). <sup>134</sup> See in general *Stucchi* (1962).

<sup>135</sup> Anker (1970), pp. 201–452.

<sup>136</sup> Forsyth and Weitzmann (1965), pp. 8–10 and pls. XLIII–LVII and LXVI–LXXIX.

<sup>137</sup> See Dodwell (1982), index s. v. 'wood.'

<sup>138</sup> For an overview see Hamann-MacLean (1974). Arguments for a dating into the Carolingian period of some important sculptural monuments such as the tomb of Willibrord (Beutler, [1978]), though provocative, have not been persuasive.

be produced in such Carolingian building campaigns as St Denis from the eighth and Lorsch from the ninth century,<sup>139</sup> continuing most probably an unbroken tradition going back through the Merovingian to the late Roman period.<sup>140</sup> Fine slabs used as altar enclosures from such sites as Metz and Schänis (near St Gall) testify to the currency of both ribbon interlace and classicising vegetal ornament into the ninth century.<sup>141</sup> A very fine slab with peacock from the Carolingian royal site of Ingelheim, datable to 773–4, has been used to show the connections of Carolingian sculpture especially with the Italian sculpture of the eighth century,<sup>142</sup> with which it shares fine carving in very flat relief, a tradition distinct from that of free-standing sculptural monuments with fully rounded relief seen in Insular sculpture of this period. However, in general it seems that monumental decoration was, in the Carolingian context, largely limited to painting, while figural sculpture was restricted to small-scale work in ivory and in metal.

Ivory carving was a major art form in the Carolingian period, with nearly two hundred surviving examples.<sup>143</sup> The important Byzantine production does not begin until the tenth century, and then apparently suddenly, at a very high level of craftsmanship and patronage, in a manner analogous to the Carolingian phenomenon.<sup>144</sup> Especially in the light of the fact that new ivory was virtually unobtainable, and many if not most Carolingian ivories were made by re-carving ancient panels,<sup>145</sup> Carolingian ivory production clearly represents a highly self-conscious art, largely sponsored by Charlemagne himself and his successors. It is very probably no coincidence that the earliest securely datable Carolingian ivories (c. 795) are the panels that originally formed the covers of the Dagulf Psalter, according to the dedicatory poems written inside, intended as a special gift from Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian.<sup>146</sup> Closely associated with these ivories is the Oxford panel with Christ trampling the beasts (Plate 1), which is, I believe, the original cover of a Gospel lectionary written in the first years of the ninth century for Charlemagne's sister Gisela in her nunnery at Chelles.

The Carolingian ivories include groups of carvings that have been connected with the important sees of Rheims and especially Metz, as well as smaller groups stemming from such centres as Trier.<sup>147</sup> Although some

<sup>139</sup> See respectively Vieillard-Troiekouroff (1976), and Jacobsen (1985).

<sup>140</sup> In general see James (1977).

<sup>141</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), pp. 31–32 and fig. 27. See Doberer (1965).

<sup>142</sup> Paeseler (1966). <sup>143</sup> Goldschmidt (1914); Volbach (1976).

<sup>144</sup> Goldschmidt and Weitzmann (1930–4); Cutler (1994).

<sup>145</sup> Weitzmann (1973), pp. 25–9; in general, Cutler (1985, 1994).

<sup>146</sup> Goldschmidt (1914), nos. 3 and 4; Gaborit-Chopin (1978), p. 45. For the dating see Nees (1985b). For an undated but probably earlier related ivory see Neuman de Vegvar (1990); Webster and Backhouse (1991), no. 141, who still press a claim for English production, provide a colour plate of this important work. <sup>147</sup> For the latter see Sanderson (1974).

pyxides, combs, reliquary chests and one magnificent liturgical fan were produced in ivory for the luxurious enhancement of the altar,<sup>148</sup> and we have written testimony for the existence of ivory doors at St Denis,<sup>149</sup> the greatest number of ivories were panels that served as book covers. The ivory covers of the Dagulf Psalter stand at the beginning of this class, which also includes a series of ivories decorating the Psalter and the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald that are of superlative richness and technical brilliance, with many lively figures engaged in fervent interaction expressing the narrative action. The links between these ivories and the illustrations in manuscripts such as the Utrecht Psalter are many and sometimes specific, leading Goldschmidt to suppose that the same workshop or workshops produced ivories and illumination. The illustration of liturgical rites as well as scenes from the life of Christ on the covers of the Drogo Sacramentary from mid-ninth-century Metz demonstrate with special clarity both *ad hoc* creation and close linkage to the text.<sup>150</sup> At least in the case of the monk Tuotilo, who at the very end of the ninth or early tenth century carved the ivory covers of a luxurious Gospels in and for his monastery of St Gall, it appears that the monk was not only a very accomplished ivory carver but also a painter and a master musician. His ivories reveal an ability to copy closely earlier Carolingian ornamental ivory panels with inhabited rinceaux available to him at St Gall, while also drawing upon figural sources of disparate kinds for his images of Christ in Majesty, the Assumption of the Virgin, and his patron saint's encounter with a bear (Plate 27).<sup>151</sup>

The craft of ivory carving was connected not only with manuscript illumination but also with metalworking. A number of Carolingian ivories retain evidence of metal inserts and fittings, including extensive use of gold inlay and coloured paste ornaments on the largest complex of Carolingian ivories, the so-called *Cathedra Petri* (Throne of St Peter), in fact the throne of Charles the Bald (frontispiece).<sup>152</sup> This work was probably originally made for Charles the Bald's coronation at Metz in 869, and was decorated with relief ivories showing combat scenes, drawing upon ancient traditions of ruler iconography previously discussed, to which were subsequently added the twelve labours of Hercules.<sup>153</sup>

Bravura carving upon hard and recalcitrant surfaces produced during the Carolingian period a unique series of rock crystals. Several of the smaller examples served as seals, that of Archbishop Radbod of Trier being a

<sup>148</sup> See Goldschmidt (1914); for the Flabellum from Tournus, the liturgical fan, see also the excellent illustrations in Gaborit-Chopin (1978), pp. 58–61, pls. 49–52 and no. 51.

<sup>149</sup> Bischoff (1981).

<sup>150</sup> Reynolds (1983); the ivories are also illustrated in Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), figs. 214 and 215. <sup>151</sup> Duft and Schnyder (1984), pp. 58–75.

<sup>152</sup> Weitzmann (1973); Nees (1991).

<sup>153</sup> Nees (1991), with earlier literature.

characteristic example, and indicative of original inspiration from ancient glyptics preserved to the Carolingian period and still in use, as well as of production in the lower Rhineland. The majority of the crystals have the Crucifixion as their central subject, and were certainly employed in liturgical contexts, such as reliquaries.<sup>154</sup> The largest of the group (Plate 6) is a unique work made for a special occasion. Identified by inscription as having been made at the order of a 'rex Lottarius', possibly Lothar II (d. 869), it tells in eight episodes the apocryphal story of Susanna and the Elders, using the lively figures and emphatic story-telling gestures associated with the style of the Utrecht Psalter to make the story vivid and emotionally involving, and to point a moral lesson for the ruler.<sup>155</sup> Perhaps no other work shows so clearly the manner in which, starting perhaps from an ancient inspiration, early medieval artists developed original and effectively didactic images.

Sculpture in ivory and rock crystal was closely associated with Carolingian Francia during this period, and especially with the Frankish king, but the other major medium for what may be thought of in the context of sculptural art, various kinds of metalworking, was widely employed across western Europe. Widespread archaeological and historical evidence indicates continuity from pre-Christian into Christian art in terms of style, technique, and even centres of production and organisation of work,<sup>156</sup> but continuity went hand in hand with originality on many stylistic and technical levels. It has recently been argued, for example, that cloisonné enamel work was not a technique borrowed from Byzantium, as had long been thought, but very probably an indigenous western invention.<sup>157</sup> Certainly the abundant surviving evidence shows the metalworkers' delight in new ornamental patterns, in combining different techniques such as filigree, repoussé, enamel, set jewels and ivories to achieve effects of vivid colour and pattern. Aesthetic preference is manifestly for brilliance and variety. Metalsmiths, and especially goldsmiths, had in the pre-Christian societies of northern Europe commonly enjoyed high social status. Some may have been itinerant, although the evidence of workshops active over long periods of time rather more strongly argues for marketing over an extensive area, working for different wealthy patrons. High-calibre metal-work travelled easily, and aristocratic new styles spread rapidly, as seen in the eighth-century Hunterston brooch (Plate 5).<sup>158</sup>

By the eighth century the primary focus of luxurious metalwork was the altar. Only from Derry naflan in Ireland does a complete altar service survive

<sup>154</sup> The only study of the entire group is the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Kornbluth (1986).

<sup>155</sup> See Kornbluth (1992).

<sup>156</sup> Craddock (1989); Roth (1986), pp. 40–79.

<sup>157</sup> Buckton (1988).

<sup>158</sup> Stevenson (1974); Youngs (1989), no. 69, the latter arguing for production by a Celtic smith drawing on Germanic techniques and styles.

from this period, including chalice, paten and stand, and strainer, the objects produced at differing times during the ninth century.<sup>159</sup> Many other liturgical objects were decorated with metalwork, often combined with jewels, enamel work, ivory and other materials. Reliquaries are among the most numerous surviving works, but there were also many large altar and processional crosses, book covers, ewers, ciboria, censers, croziers and elaborate portable altars. Some works appear to have been unique creations demanded by special patrons and circumstances. The grand reliquary given by Charlemagne to St Denis is now known only from drawings and a few fragments, the drawing showing an unparalleled three-storeyed arcaded superstructure rising high above the chest.<sup>160</sup> One of the most original works of the period is the silver base for an altar cross ordered by Einhard in the early ninth century (Plate 28), taking the form of a triumphal arch of Roman type, but thoroughly Christianised through an elaborate programme including large figures of military saints on the lowest level, the four Evangelists on the middle level along with the Annunciation and Baptism, and at the top Christ enthroned, surrounded by His Apostles.<sup>161</sup> The work clearly relates to the cult of the Cross, a central theological and devotional theme of Carolingian culture about which Einhard himself composed an important treatise, and thereby bespeaks the intimate connection between works of art, their individual patron's interests, and contemporary issues of broad cultural import.

Only one metalwork-decorated altar survives from this period, although literary evidence tells us that such magnificent works were found in a number of great churches. The fortunate survival, made by Wulvinus at the order of Archbishop Angilbert II (824–59) for the church of S. Ambrogio in Milan, brings together many characteristic elements of early medieval metalwork.<sup>162</sup> The altar consists primarily of gilt repoussé panels, each framed by elaborate enamelled borders. Wulvinus appears on the back of the altar (Plate 29) in a large medallion, offering his work to the local saint, here the great St Ambrose. The aristocratic Frankish episcopal donor appears in an adjacent matching medallion; both donor and artist are rendered on the same scale, and both receive crowns from Ambrose. This self-portrait is perhaps the clearest, if extreme, example of artistic self-consciousness, even self-promotion, of the entire period.<sup>163</sup> The artist is described by name as the maker, and is identified as a *magister*, presumably meaning a secular master

<sup>159</sup> Youngs (1989), pp. 130–3; Ryan (1990).

<sup>160</sup> Elbern (1965), p. 140 and fig. 22.

<sup>161</sup> Hauck (1974); Belting (1973).

<sup>162</sup> The clearest concise summary, with helpful iconographic drawings and bibliography, is *Karl der Grosse* (1965), no. 559. See more recently Haseloff (1990), no. 51, with colour reproductions of front and back and of many details.

<sup>163</sup> For colour reproductions of these panels see Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), figs. 220 and 222.

and not a cleric. His name is Germanic, and most scholars have seen him as someone trained north of the Alps, perhaps at Tours or in Charlemagne's court at Aachen, but called to Milan for this grand commission, upon which he may have worked with other artists. The back of the altar is decorated not only with the images of the donor and artist, each beneath a protective archangel, but also with twelve scenes from the life of the patron saint. Each narrow side panel features a large cross adored by deacons and surrounded by saints. On the front is Christ enthroned in Majesty at the centre of another cross, flanked by twelve scenes of His life, scenes including the Crucifixion and Resurrection but especially emphasising miracles.

Monumental bronze casting was also practised during the period, the outstanding example being the enormous bronze doors made for Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen, and the bronze railings which run around the second floor of the building's central space. It seems that the workshop producing such varied and spectacular works, which draw upon the abstract and optically complex patterns seen in other metalwork and also in manuscript painting, must have been located in Aachen itself.<sup>164</sup> At least one life-size image of Christ on the Cross was made in metal in the ninth century; the silver original is now known only in the form of a sixteenth-century leather replica, but is described as a papal gift to the Vatican basilica during the ninth century.<sup>165</sup>

The tremendous losses of metalwork pale into insignificance beside the loss of textile work of the period, which has almost entirely vanished. Textiles are not only necessities of life but occasions for artistic display in most cultures, and literary sources confirm the importance of textile work in the early medieval west.<sup>166</sup> Much of that fine textile work seems to have been done by women, both aristocratic women in secular life, for whom weaving and sewing had been since Penelope a primary occupation, and nuns in the monastic life. By nature fragile, cloth has usually survived only in scraps, such as the bits of imported silks used to wrap relics, and even collected in liturgical books. Little has survived burial in the damp conditions of northern and western Europe, an important exception being the fragments from the ninth-century ship-burial at Oseberg in Norway, in which Queen Asa was interred.<sup>167</sup> The fabrics found there included woollen tapestry borders ranging from six to nine inches in breadth, depicting long processions of horses, wagons, men and women, and providing a precious glimpse of the kind of works that must stand behind such famous later textiles as the Bayeux Tapestry. The most significant discovery of recent years is the large collections of textiles from the church at Maaseik in

<sup>164</sup> Braunfels (1965).

<sup>165</sup> Elbern (1965), p. 123. The copy is reproduced in Lasko (1972), pl. 18.

<sup>166</sup> Dodwell (1982), pp. 129–69. <sup>167</sup> Anker (1970), pp. 192–3.

Belgium.<sup>168</sup> Including woven silks and flat embroideries with much laid-work, the earliest examples of what was in the middle ages known as an English technique, *opus anglicanum*,<sup>169</sup> here including gold-wrapped threads, the cloths show such patterns as arcades with inset interlace and floral patterns, and strips of medallions containing birds. Pearls were sewn to the cloth along the arches of one fabric, a detail which is only one of many which closely link the textiles to other arts of the period, and especially to manuscript illumination. The Maaseik fabrics provide direct evidence for the plausible supposition that textiles indeed served as important carriers of artistic ideas.

#### PAINTING AND BOOK ILLUMINATION

Painting on panels was a significant artistic medium in the period, although few examples survive. In the eastern Mediterranean both portrait and narrative icons were produced in painted form, and eastern images reached the west and influenced painting there, such as the Crucifixion painted on the wall of Sta Maria Antiqua in the Theodotus Chapel (Plate 30). Rome itself produced painted icons on panels, including small portraits of Peter and Paul from the late eighth century now in the Vatican Museum, and the monumental image of the Virgin enthroned between saints presented to Sta Maria in Trastevere by Pope John VII (705–7), who kneels before the throne to receive a blessing.<sup>170</sup> Literary evidence indicates the production of panels with narrative scenes.<sup>171</sup>

Painting on walls generally played a more didactic role than did panels. A notable example of the range and richness of mural decoration of the period is provided by the three major campaigns carried out in Rome during the pontificate of Paschal I (817–24). Sta Maria Domnica received a new apse with a figure of the pope kneeling before a huge enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by clouds of angels, a composition adapted from the earlier Virgin icon of John VII in Sta Maria in Trastevere, but given a more intimate and literally touching character through the new motif of the pope taking the Virgin's foot in his hands (Plate 31).<sup>172</sup> Paschal's other two mosaic programmes seem at first highly conventional in comparison to Sta Maria Domnica, for the apses of both Sta Cecilia in Trastevere and Sta Prassede

<sup>168</sup> Budny and Tweddle (1984); Webster and Backhouse (1991), no. 143.

<sup>169</sup> The next earliest examples are a stole and two maniples from the early tenth century, gifts from Queen Elflaeda to the bishop of Winchester preserved in the tomb of St Cuthbert at Durham; see Battiscombe (1956), pp. 375–432.

<sup>170</sup> See Bertelli (1961); Belting (1990), pp. 131–163, these examples fig. 73 and pl. II.

<sup>171</sup> Davis-Weyer (1971), p. 74; Meyvaert (1979).

<sup>172</sup> Oakeshott (1967), pp. 203–4, figs. 114–20 and colour pl. XX.

(Plate 21) closely follow the precedent of the sixth-century apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano, and they have accordingly been cited as primary evidence of the retrospective character of this art, a feature linking it with the spirit of the Carolingian Renaissance.<sup>173</sup> Sta Prassede, however, was built for a novel reason, namely to house in its crypt over two thousand relics removed from the catacombs. Moreover, the triumphal arch opening from the nave to the transept has an unparalleled composition apparently showing large groups of saints led by angels to the bejewelled heavenly city, in which Christ, the Virgin and the apostles await them.<sup>174</sup>

The mosaic medium is extremely costly, and only a few other surviving examples were produced during this period either in or outside Rome. Of the latter, two stand out: the dome of Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen, and the apse of Theodulf's oratory at Germigny. Because the mosaic at Aachen was totally remade in the nineteenth century, little can be said about its style, or about the origin of the workshop that produced it, so most discussion has centred upon its iconography.<sup>175</sup> The basic reference is to the Apocalypse, with the Elders gathered about the throne of God in adoration, representing the chosen people of God, with whom the Franks identified. The emphasis upon the divine throne is linked to the royal Frankish throne in this highly idiosyncratic palace church.<sup>176</sup> It is surprising that such a small foundation as Theodulf's oratory at Germigny should have received any mosaic decoration whatsoever (Plate 14). The choice of the same conspicuously luxurious medium just deployed in Aachen and in Rome<sup>177</sup> links Germigny to those programmes and renders even more forceful the sharp break in its iconography. No earlier apse decoration has as its subject the Ark of the Covenant set within the Temple of Solomon. Evidently the subject appears here illustrating Theodulf's argument in the *Libri Carolini* that the Ark is the only image that can be said to be worthy of veneration, because explicitly authorised by God.<sup>178</sup>

Iconoclasm made Byzantium largely inactive in monumental painting until near the end of the period,<sup>179</sup> so that western Christendom developed

<sup>173</sup> See for example Dodwell (1971), pp. 10–14, figs. 1–3, who emphasizes the 'absorption in the past' in those mosaics even while noting that some portions display originality and seem 'quite new'.

<sup>174</sup> Oakeshott (1967), pp. 204–7 and fig. 121. For colour details of the apse mosaic see Grabar and Nordenfalk (1957), pp. 40–3. The church is the subject of the Bryn Mawr College Master's thesis by Judith Freda, from which I have learned much, and which will I hope soon be published.

<sup>175</sup> Schnitzler (1964), rejected by Schrade (1965).

<sup>176</sup> Schnitzler (1964) and Schrade (1966); for a discussion of the controversy concerning the iconography of the Aachen dome in the appropriate royal context see Bullough (1975), pp. 241–6.

<sup>177</sup> Belting (1978). Texts describing the mosaics are available in English translation in Davis-Weyer (1971), pp. 88–92. <sup>178</sup> Chazelle (1986). <sup>179</sup> Mathews (1988).

this medium more or less in isolation. Almost nothing survives of mural painting outside Italy and the Frankish territories during this period.<sup>180</sup> Painters working within an Italo-Byzantine tradition continued to be active in Rome, as witnesses the Theodotus Chapel (Plate 30) from the mid-eighth century, only one example of a series of paintings in the church of Sta Maria Antiqua starting in the late sixth century and continuing until the end of the eighth.<sup>181</sup> Whether the tradition is truly continuous in terms of masters and workshops remains a very difficult problem even in regard to Italy, as there is some evidence suggesting an important impact of Frankish art upon the peninsula during the ninth century.<sup>182</sup> Painting styles were clearly diverse, with such late eighth- or early ninth-century wall-paintings as those at Brescia and Castelseprio sharing enough similarities to suggest a direct link with each other, while participating in a lively narrative style.<sup>183</sup>

From the Frankish territories to the north few wall-paintings survive, although literary sources suggest that they were common, including the decoration with many narrative scenes of both the church and the royal hall in the palace at Ingelheim.<sup>184</sup> The Lorsch Gatehouse has architectural paintings in its upper room, and two later ninth-century crypts have extensive mural paintings. At St Germain at Auxerre architectural and decorative paintings accompany lively and expressively painted narrative scenes from the life and passion of St Stephen, including his martyrdom.<sup>185</sup> Most important of surviving Carolingian mural decorations is the Johanneskirche at Müstair. Here all four walls of a very large hall church dating from the early ninth century were covered with paintings, now in heavily restored condition. The east wall has three niches whose lower sections illustrate saints' lives, and which rise to large apses whose subjects include Christ in Majesty and a huge cross. On the western entry wall above the doorway is an enormous Last Judgement, the earliest preserved example of what becomes a standard feature in later churches,<sup>186</sup> while the lateral walls each have five rows of eight rectangular narrative panels with biblical scenes.<sup>187</sup>

If it is difficult to assess monumental painting because so little survives, at least outside the city of Rome, almost the reverse is true in regard to book

<sup>180</sup> Backhouse, Turner and Webster (1984), no. 25. On Spanish works see Grabar and Nordenfalk (1957), pp. 2–68; Dodds (1990), pp. 37–46.

<sup>181</sup> Belting (1987), and in general Belting (1990). For an important earlier campaign see Nordhagen (1968). <sup>182</sup> Belting (1967). <sup>183</sup> Leveto (1990), with earlier bibliography.

<sup>184</sup> The texts related to Ingelheim are conveniently edited in Faral (1964), pp. 157–65. Many others are gathered in von Schlosser (1892).

<sup>185</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), figs. 4–8. For the Trier paintings see Sanderson (1974), esp. 170–2 and figs. 21–5. For colour reproductions of the procession see Grabar and Nordenfalk (1957), pp. 74–5. <sup>186</sup> Brenk (1966).

<sup>187</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1970), figs. 20–3. Cwi (1983), with convenient list of iconographic subjects and drawings showing their placement on the walls.

illustration, of which so much survives, often in wonderful condition, ironically from almost everywhere except Rome.<sup>188</sup> Books are enormously complex physical objects, constructed from parchment that must be manufactured, ordered into gatherings, folded, trimmed and ruled for writing.<sup>189</sup> Books are, of course, first and foremost carriers of texts, texts whose arrangements and contents are essential evidence relating to the images, particularly as far as the relationship between the textual content and the illustration is concerned.<sup>190</sup> Thousands of books, many elaborately decorated with ornament and figural miniatures, were produced in literally dozens of major scriptoria. The most famous books are closely or loosely connected with the royal Carolingian courts and the principal monasteries associated with the kings; the importance of courtly and monastic patronage is seen nowhere so clearly as in the area of book-painting. However, the stupendous quality and well-established renown of the courtly manuscripts, of which the *Godescalc Evangelistary* (Plate 32) made for Charlemagne c. 781–3 is one of the most significant, should not cause us to forget that the great majority even of richly illuminated manuscripts were made not for royal but for ecclesiastical, most often monastic, patrons and purposes. Indeed the most extraordinary feature of book-painting in this period, its emergence as a pre-eminent artistic medium, begins not at the Carolingian court at all but in the monasteries of the Merovingian and especially of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon world from the later seventh century and throughout the eighth.

From at least the second half of the seventh century, books in Francia, Ireland and in the newly Christianised areas of England began to be produced in which the ornamental designs of high-prestige native secular arts, especially metalwork, transform the appearance and status of books. Especially the books of Holy Scripture, above all others the Psalter and Gospels, became venerated objects, on some occasions carried into battle as palladia, associated with tombs and apotropaic magical practices, preserved as relics.<sup>191</sup> By the late seventh century, with the writing and painting of the *Book of Durrow* at an unknown monastery variously identified as Iona or a site in Ireland or northern England, the fundamentally new idea of a completely decorated book is established, along with the essential cycle of illustrations that would long characterise medieval Gospel Books.<sup>192</sup> The book opens with an image of the Cross, followed by prefatory texts and

<sup>188</sup> Osborne (1990).

<sup>189</sup> Shailor (1991); Bischoff (1989); McKitterick (1989a), pp. 135–64; Ganz, p. 792 above.

<sup>190</sup> Fundamental for this approach remains Weitzmann (1947). See more recently Calkins (1983).

<sup>191</sup> G. Henderson (1987), especially pp. 179–99.

<sup>192</sup> For the manuscript see Alexander (1978), no. 6; G. Henderson (1987), pp. 19–56; and Calkins (1983), pp. 33–63 and pls. 9–25 for the most easily grasped descriptive account of all the decorative elements of the book.

decorated so-called canon tables, tables of concordance originally compiled by Eusebius in the fourth century and preserved in most elaborately decorated Gospel manuscripts thereafter.<sup>193</sup> Each of the four Gospels is preceded by a full-page miniature of the Evangelist, here represented by the Evangelist's symbolic creature alone but more commonly in later manuscripts by the Evangelist and symbol together, as in the portraits of the Godescalc Evangelistary (Plate 32). The Gospel text itself begins with a large initial letter or letters treated as works of art, with ornamental elongation of stem ends, and complex interlace and other patterns filling the letters themselves. Finally, each of the Gospel texts is preceded, and the volume opened and closed, by full pages of ornament, many featuring the cross motif, which have long been inaccurately but conveniently known as carpet pages. On these pages the stunning decorative quality and sheer aesthetic bravura is most purely expressed, and the links with Celtic and Germanic metalworking traditions are most obvious, while ornament is also used to carry sophisticated ideological messages and even protective functions.<sup>194</sup>

The Lindisfarne Gospels<sup>195</sup> and the Book of Kells are only the most famous among the Insular books that during the eighth century continue and develop the decorative ideas and structure announced in the Book of Durrow, adding a far greater range of colours and patterns, and human figures that derive in some instances from contact with Mediterranean traditions. To the established cycle of canon tables, initial pages and Evangelist portraits presented by the Books of Durrow and Lindisfarne, the Book of Kells, variously dated between the second quarter of the eighth century and the early ninth century, introduces episodes from the Gospel narrative, including the Temptation and Arrest of Christ, and a powerfully iconic image of the Virgin and Child enthroned.<sup>196</sup> Great Gospel Books such as these received the most elaborate decoration, but some other text types borrow from their vocabulary. For example, the Book of Cerne, probably produced in central England for Bishop Æthelwald of Lichfield (818–30), draws upon some Gospel texts but is essentially a collection of prayers.

Grotesque ornamental heads constitute only one of several features linking the Book of Cerne with a probably earlier Gospel Book signed by a scribe Wigbald now in the Vatican, cod. Barb. lat. 570, a large and magnificently decorated book from southern England or possibly from an

<sup>193</sup> The fundamental study remains Nordenfalk (1938).

<sup>194</sup> Elbern (1971).

<sup>195</sup> G. Henderson (1987), pp. 99–122; for discussion along with colour reproductions of the major decoration Backhouse (1981).

<sup>196</sup> Alexander (1978), no. 21; G. Henderson (1987), pp. 130–78; for convenient colour reproductions of the major decoration see Henry (1977).

Insular centre across the Channel. However, in its Evangelist portraits the Barberini Gospels follow an altogether different path, eliminating the Evangelist's symbol altogether, and showing a massive figure actually writing the holy words, with penknife in one hand and pen dipping into an inkwell with the other (Plate 33). The Evangelist is set into a landscape whose paradisiac connotations are conveyed by the rich vines at either side, and indeed the conception brings us very close to the kind of work which would have been one of the sources upon which Charlemagne's *famulus* Godescalc drew in making his great Evangelistary in the early 780s (Plate 32). Even some small details of ornament link the manuscripts, showing one manner in which the earliest artist of Charlemagne's court drew upon the Insular heritage in specific details as well as in the more important respect of treating even the pages of text in his book as luxurious images, set against coloured backgrounds and surrounded by elaborate ornamental frames.

It is arguable that the type of decorative structure and, even more important, the attitude towards the decoration of the holy book was transmitted by Insular missionaries to the Continent well before the end of the eighth century.<sup>197</sup> By the second quarter of the eighth century the Trier Domschatz cod. 61 Gospel Book was produced at Echternach (founded 690). In its prefatory miniature of the four symbols of the Evangelists grouped about a cross (Plate 13) it closely reflects the traditions of the Book of Durrow. Already in this case the Insular or Insular-trained scribe Thomas, responsible for this miniature, was working with a Continental, Frankish collaborator, and later books from Echternach such as a mid-eighth-century Psalter in Stuttgart and manuscripts such as a late eighth-century or early ninth-century Gospels from the Essen Treasury (Plate 34) or a little-known collection of monastic homilies now in Cracow show the growing interaction between the different traditions.<sup>198</sup> The style of drawing and iconographic features of the Essen miniature are varied, but the style of interlacing terminals of the cross and the extensive use of red dotting is an Insular feature, as is in one sense the huge initial I on the facing page.

Yet that initial page of the Essen Gospels has its smaller letters formed from the bodies of birds and fish, a characteristic not of Insular art but of the Continent. Since late antiquity, some letters had been enriched with animal and vegetal ornament, and by as early as the sixth century the beasts sometimes took over the letters entirely.<sup>199</sup> This tradition was richly developed in Continental scriptoria of the seventh and eighth and indeed

<sup>197</sup> See McKittrick, chapter 23 above, p. 683.

<sup>198</sup> Alexander (1978), no. 28; Webster and Backhouse (1991), no. 128, with colour plates; David (1937).

<sup>199</sup> Fundamental is Nordenfalk (1970), and more accessible are Pächt (1986), pp. 45–82 and Netzer (1994).

well into the ninth century, when, as has recently been shown, this western tradition, transmitted through Latin and Greek scriptoria in Rome, becomes a starting point for middle Byzantine types of ornamental script.<sup>200</sup> Indeed there are other relationships between eastern and western illumination in the period, including the prevalence of large ornamental pages featuring the cross, which occur before, after and even during Iconoclasm.<sup>201</sup> Crosses had featured and would continue to feature prominently in both eastern and western manuscripts from an early period, and the cross is always an essential and potent Christian sign,<sup>202</sup> but there is evidence for its special association with military and spiritual victory during the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>203</sup>

Cross pages are common in book illumination in the west during the seventh and eighth centuries, occurring frequently in such Frankish examples as an eighth-century compendium of medical texts in Paris, BN lat. 9332 (Plate 35), in which a cross with inscription invoking the Cross along with the blood of Christ as an instrument of salvation is paired with the portrait of the medical author Alexander. Such illumination, drawing upon a Mediterranean ornamental koine of guilloche, knot and acanthus patterns along with bird and fish patterns, was reorganised into a recognisable tradition from the late seventh century, with the major centres of production at foundations such as Luxeuil in Burgundy and Corbie in Picardy.<sup>204</sup> Many of these centres developed distinctive styles of script as well as ornament. Laon produced in the middle of the eighth century a series of books, including not only liturgical books but very elaborately ornamented library volumes such as a manuscript of Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchon* in whose initial page (Plate 36) Frankish beasts and leaves are combined with Insular interlace and dots, the two traditions seeming almost to go to war with each other in the strange beast eating pen flourishes at the lower left corner. The same page shows three lines of a distinctively Laon conception, in which the letters are solid black but played against complex coloured background, reversing the normal relationship between figure and ground in a manner not enhancing legibility but reflecting scribal play and interest in variety for its own sake.<sup>205</sup>

Manuscripts continued to be decorated in the established Frankish traditions of 'Insular' and 'Merovingian' styles into the ninth century in many centres, examples of which have previously been mentioned (Plates 13, 34, 35 and 36), including works of great aesthetic and creative

<sup>200</sup> Osborne (1990).

<sup>201</sup> Nordenfalk (1970), pp. 189–90 and fig. 54. For the liturgical formula see Galavaris (1970), pp. 65–76. <sup>202</sup> Nees (1980–1). <sup>203</sup> Bischoff (1963). <sup>204</sup> McKitterick (1981).

<sup>205</sup> Hubert, Porcher and Volbach (1969), fig. 190; on Laon see *ibid.*, pp. 192–3.

achievement. Royal manuscripts were also produced in this venerable tradition to the end of the century, such as the magnificent Second Bible of Charles the Bald, written probably at St Amand and presented to the king in the 870s. The associated manuscripts are sometimes called Franco-Saxon because of their obvious dependence upon the Insular tradition, but in fact works in this style had been produced for decades in the Frankish territories, at Echternach and in related scriptoria of northern Francia,<sup>206</sup> and this royal manuscript is neither retardataire nor a return to 'barbarian' traditions under the impact of Viking invasions or anything of the sort. Indeed its extensive use of gold leaf relates it to the Carolingian court workshops of the ninth century, and the beautifully clear word *principio* at the bottom of the page is written with some of the most elegant Roman lapidary-style capitals of the period. The book is of a different tradition, but of no lesser quality, than the better-known because more apparently classicising First Bible of Charles the Bald, whose presentation scene (Plate 12) relies upon ultimately Roman iconographic and stylistic formulae.

Production of luxurious illuminated books for, and possibly at, the Frankish court is first attested by the Godescalc Evangelistary of 781–83 (Plate 32). Although some scholars believe that a 'court school' produced a continuous series of books for the three decades from the Godescalc book to Charlemagne's death in 814, books of which ten or so survive, including the extraordinary luxurious Gospel Books from Soissons, Trier and Lorsch among others,<sup>207</sup> production was probably sporadic, guided by specific circumstances, and concentrated in the last decade of the eighth century following the establishment of Aachen as a court centre in 794.<sup>208</sup> A second group of manuscripts, exhibiting what some have termed a 'Hellenistic' manner with active and loosely painted figures set into spacious landscapes, may have been associated with the court of Charlemagne or of Louis the Pious, and in some aspects related to the episcopal scriptoria of Rheims.<sup>209</sup> It is indeed difficult, and has long been a matter of controversy whether books written for or presented as gifts by Frankish kings after Charlemagne, such as Louis the Pious<sup>210</sup> or Lothar I,<sup>211</sup> were written at the court itself or, as it were, subcontracted through monasteries, as certainly happened in some cases.<sup>212</sup> Most problematic is Charles the Bald; clearly a large group of magnificent books was written for him, including his Prayer Book (Plate 11)

<sup>206</sup> Nordenfalk (1931); Euw (1990).

<sup>207</sup> Mütherich (1965), conveniently summarized in Mütherich and Gachde (1976).

<sup>208</sup> See Nees (1986; 1985b). <sup>209</sup> Braunfels (1968), pp. 137–50; Euw (1990), no. 8, pp. 62–5.

<sup>210</sup> Mütherich (1990). <sup>211</sup> Koehler and Mütherich (1971).

<sup>212</sup> See Contreni, p. 711 above.

and the great *Codex Aureus* from St Emmeram,<sup>213</sup> but no one has yet established where the scribes and artists were working, or how they were organised.<sup>214</sup>

There is no doubt that the great books associated with the Frankish kings exerted a powerful influence on some monastic scriptoria. Tours and Rheims both produced illuminated books for royal patrons in the luxurious styles associated with the court, whether or not the books were intended for court-related functions or royal gifts. Tours was especially prolific, producing many elaborately decorated Gospel Books and even full Bibles annually during the period of its greatest flourishing in the second quarter of the ninth century.<sup>215</sup> Rheims probably had not a single scriptorium but several associated scriptoria, produced books in the time of Ebbo and also of Hincmar,<sup>216</sup> and also developed a series of manuscripts illustrated with pen drawings of great expressive vivacity, including the Utrecht Psalter, a style that had enormous impact not only upon contemporary but upon later illuminated manuscripts, and also appealed to workers in ivory and metal.<sup>217</sup> Fulda produced Gospel Books closely related to those from Charlemagne's court, while at the same time producing luxurious copies of the work of its own abbot, Hraban Maur's *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, all of which included the image of Emperor Louis the Pious, to whom the work was dedicated (Plate 3), along with other acrostic figure-poems, mostly devoted to and illustrating the cult of the Cross. Fulda possibly initiated the series of extensively, if less richly, illustrated copies of Hraban's widely read encyclopaedic work, *De Universo*.<sup>218</sup> Other scriptoria followed or developed their own traditions of decoration. St Gall, for example, produced at the end of the ninth century such different and highly original works as the Golden Psalter, St Gall Stiftsbibliothek cod. 22. That book's programme of miniatures draws upon a wide variety of sources, some reminiscent of earlier 'court' products. Yet the Golden Psalter and other Carolingian books must be understood not just as results of their sources but of the particular functions they were intended to serve at the time of their making.<sup>219</sup> The rich complexity of these works brought a wide range of aesthetic and intellectual challenges and rewards to their early medieval audiences, and can still do so today.

<sup>213</sup> Calkins (1983), pp. 119–45.

<sup>214</sup> Koehler and Mütherich (1971).

<sup>215</sup> Koehler (1930–3); Kessler (1977); Calkins (1983), pp. 93–118.

<sup>216</sup> Rome, Abbazia di S. Paolo fuori le mura; see Mütherich and Gachde (1976), no. xix, pls. 42–5.

<sup>217</sup> Braunfels (1968), pp. 158–79, figs. 84–115.

<sup>218</sup> Mütherich (1980). On the illustrations of *De Universo* see Le Berrurier (1978).

<sup>219</sup> Eggenberger (1987).

## CONCLUSION

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*Rosamond McKitterick*

IN all the chapters in this volume, far more has been documented than mere change and adjustment. It is not for nothing that recent studies have invoked phrases such as the 'formation of Europe' in relation to the early middle ages and in particular to the two centuries between 700 and 900, the period examined in such detail in this book. Since the planning got under way in the late 1950s for the splendid Council of Europe exhibition on Charlemagne, mounted at Aachen in 1965, the Carolingian ruler has been the symbol, rightly or wrongly, of European unity and the common cultural heritage of Europe. The Carolingian period and the role of Frankish political expansion and cultural imperialism have taken their place in the historiography of most European countries as an essential phase in those countries' development. As is clear from the relevant chapters above, some areas, such as Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Bulgaria or Scandinavia, were outside the direct sphere of influence of the Franks, yet cannot be said to be totally unaffected by events within the Frankish world. Peripheral regions, at the *fines imperii*, were affected in one way or another. Not one region of the area we now think of as Europe was so self-contained as to remain entirely untouched by events in the Carolingian heartlands, even among those for whom the benefits of Carolingian rule may not have been either welcome or obvious. To this extent, therefore, the Frankish dominance of the historical evidence is not entirely unaccountable. It is arguable, however, that it was not so much the political successes and failures of the Franks, or those of their allies and supporters or opponents and enemies, which impinged most on the regions encompassed in this book and for which they and this period as a whole need to be remembered. Rather it is their political ideologies, methods of ruling, social organisation, economic innovations, religious zeal and intellectual and cultural traditions that have left their lasting legacy.

The principles embodied in Frankish kingship and royal administrative methods had rested on a relatively influential and homogeneous network of

public institutions, inherited, ultimately, from the Roman empire. In many other respects, indeed, the Roman roots of early medieval public life are readily discernible, not least in the resort to the written word for records and in legal transactions. The unified currency system of the Carolingians, in which the Carolingian *denarius* was used throughout western Europe, became increasingly fragmented as the kings lost direct control over the various provinces. On a smaller scale and especially in England, however, the trend towards strong central control of the currency was maintained. Trade on a local and inter-regional level, based on the agricultural, craft and industrial products of the great estates, and patterns of estate management with the manorial system as the peak of a developing economy, were the beginnings of the organisation that underpinned the later development of towns and merchants. Although a society dominated by and organised round the nobility, it was an agricultural society with the beginnings of social and functional differentiation, coherent local hierarchies, a considerable degree of social mobility, flexibility and informality, and characterised by personal associations of great, if overlapping, variety which formed an elaborate network of mutual obligation. As Wickham commented, 'brute force remained an entirely normal element of social interaction', but there was also a strong sense of coherence and identity within settlements and a considerable degree of social and economic co-operation among the inhabitants. Within the public life of the areas ruled by the Franks, office holding, the provision of justice, the accretion of wealth and land and participation in government led to the successful integration of the aristocracy within the administrative structures of the kingdoms as well as laying the foundations for new political constellations of power, in the old moulds, in both the eastern and the western kingdoms. The Frankish exercise of power, like that of other rulers of the peripheral regions in the early middle ages, was one that depended above all on loyalty. This entailed the agreement to carry out orders without which government would have been inconceivable, and the bonds of mutual obligation and dependence existing between different individuals and groups. Such loyalty had its ritual expression in attendance at the assemblies convened by the king in which both lay and ecclesiastical magnates joined. At every level of society, moreover, women can be observed in influential roles within the royal household, the family, on the great estates, within communities and in the church. It is for this reason that, rather than allotting women a separate section, they were integrated into most of the chapters in this book. They manifestly did not experience a decline in their position in the Carolingian period as is sometimes supposed.

The reality underlying the order imposed or implied by so many of our

sources, and their often symbolic representation of the present, most notably in 'court' historiography, was anything but tidy. Throughout our period, despite the efforts to maintain strong centralised government, there was tension between central and local powers as well as between centre and peripheries. The manifestation and exertion of power in the secular world that the chapters above have documented is also to be observed in the control, power and influence exerted by the church over, and over the church by, secular magnates and rulers. The identification of the ideals of rulership with those of a Christian ruler are of paramount importance. Further, the impact of the powerful on both the secular and inner worlds of the church and its monasteries led to tensions not always happily resolved and which were to re-emerge frequently in the years that followed.

Yet the church also exerted a power of prayer. This too was fully acknowledged and exploited by the laity, for they invested in this power to an extraordinary degree. We thus see not just ecclesiastical intrusion into secular life but also the reception of religious norms in every aspect of quotidian lay life. Political power was linked with spiritual and religious power: reform and expansion went hand in hand. Political leaders encouraged the reform of a church which was directed at the moral welfare of all their subjects, and thereby widened the brief for the state's intervention in the life of its subjects.

In canon law and liturgy, as well as in the internal and external structures of the church, the developments and adjustments of the eighth and ninth centuries provided the bases for the subsequent development of the western church in its various regions. We observe the appropriation of the arts to a Christian education. Learning furnished part of the equipment of a soldier of Christ; it was linked with the spiritual health of society, and thus its material prosperity. Rulers learnt to take an active interest in events to make their own distinctive contributions for the promotion of learning and education. The Carolingians, their contemporaries and their successors all valued and supported Christian learning and ecclesiastical reform. Contreni and Ganz have stressed, moreover, how Carolingian books and texts bridged the centuries between late antiquity and the scholarly world of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and how, without the Carolingians, neither Latin script nor Latin texts would have secured the continuities that this volume affirms. The enduring achievement of ninth-century scholars was to provide a meaningful rationale for rigorous and sophisticated study and research, with the arts sacralised as paths to higher learning.

Carolingian learning, in all its variety and internal dissonances, was nevertheless at the heart of the intellectual and cultural legacy of the Carolingians to Europe as a whole. By the end of the ninth century,

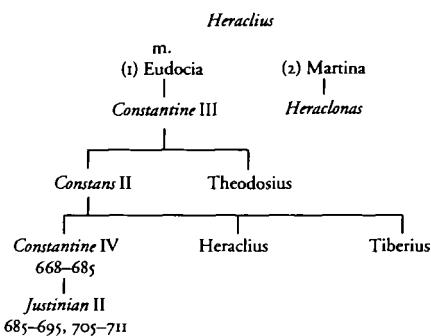
moreover, fundamental attitudes towards art had been established in the Latin, Greek and Islamic worlds. In book-painting, sculpture, the decorative arts and architecture, forms closely related to and expressive of their religion as well as buildings characterising their religious institutions were defined. The role of the pictorial arts in religious practice in particular was established. It became accepted that art could embellish a holy place or object. In all the promotion of art, architecture and learning the ruler, and the personal patronage of other like-minded individuals, played a crucial role.

It was Latin and Christian civilisation above all which provided the common links between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England, *Francia*, northern Spain and Lombardy, Carinthia, Rome, Bulgaria and Scandinavia and elsewhere. Individuals moved throughout this world. Many, as we have seen with the Irish and English missionaries in Germany, the Irish, English, Lombard, Spanish, Greek and Italian scholars at the Frankish court, the Franks who established themselves in Italy and the Greeks who settled in the Exarchate of Ravenna, were able to uproot themselves. They made a life for themselves elsewhere in a way that questions the appropriateness of national boundaries in our assessment of the coherence of the early medieval world.

There is no doubt that the foundation for the wealth and variety of European civilisation was laid in these centuries, and naturally enough, in the centuries before 700, as the preceding volume to this one makes clear. Of what artificially created period of history can this not be said? Nevertheless, it remains the case that the years between 700 and 900, despite the varying fortunes of political conquest and territorial aggrandisement, were years of remarkably accelerated cultural and political formation, when ideologies and institutions were determined, social structures coalesced, and religious, intellectual and cultural traditions were established. The remaining volumes in this series will demonstrate the degree to which they endured in the succeeding centuries in medieval Europe.

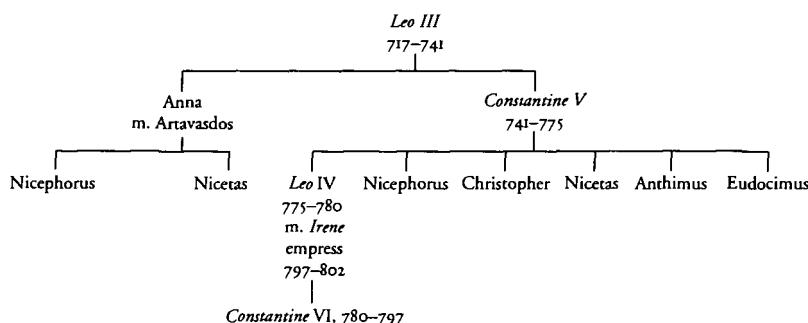
Table 12 BYZANTINE RULERS, c. 700 – c. 900

## I HERACLIANS



*Leontius*, 695–698  
*Tiberius II*, 698–705  
*Philippicus*, 711–713  
*Anastasius II*, 713–715  
*Theodosius III*, 715–717

## II SYRIANS



## III AMORIANS

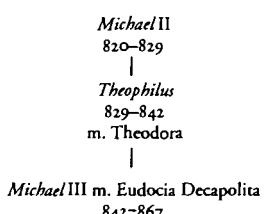
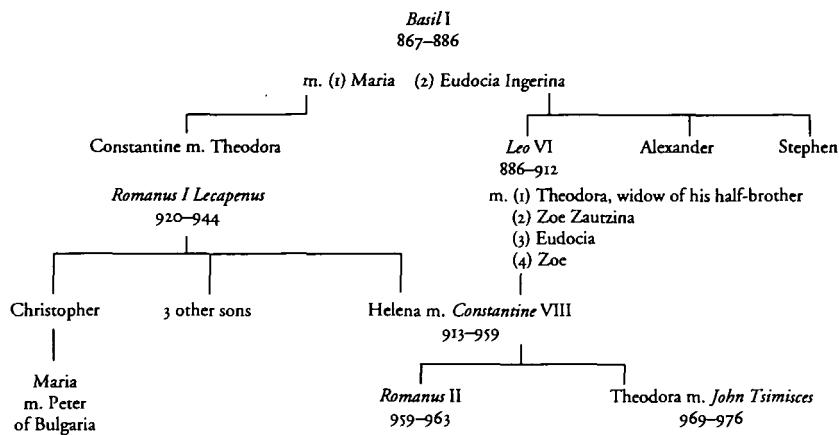


Table 12 BYZANTINE RULERS, c. 700 – c. 900 (cont.)

## IV MACEDONIANS



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The list represents those primary sources referred to in the text of all the chapters in this book or cited in the notes, arranged in alphabetical order of author. Anonymous works and collections of documents have been listed in alphabetical order of title. In the case of the saints' *Vitae* the word *sanctus* has been removed from the title in order to preserve the alphabetical sequence of names. Collections of sources are to be found under the editor's name.

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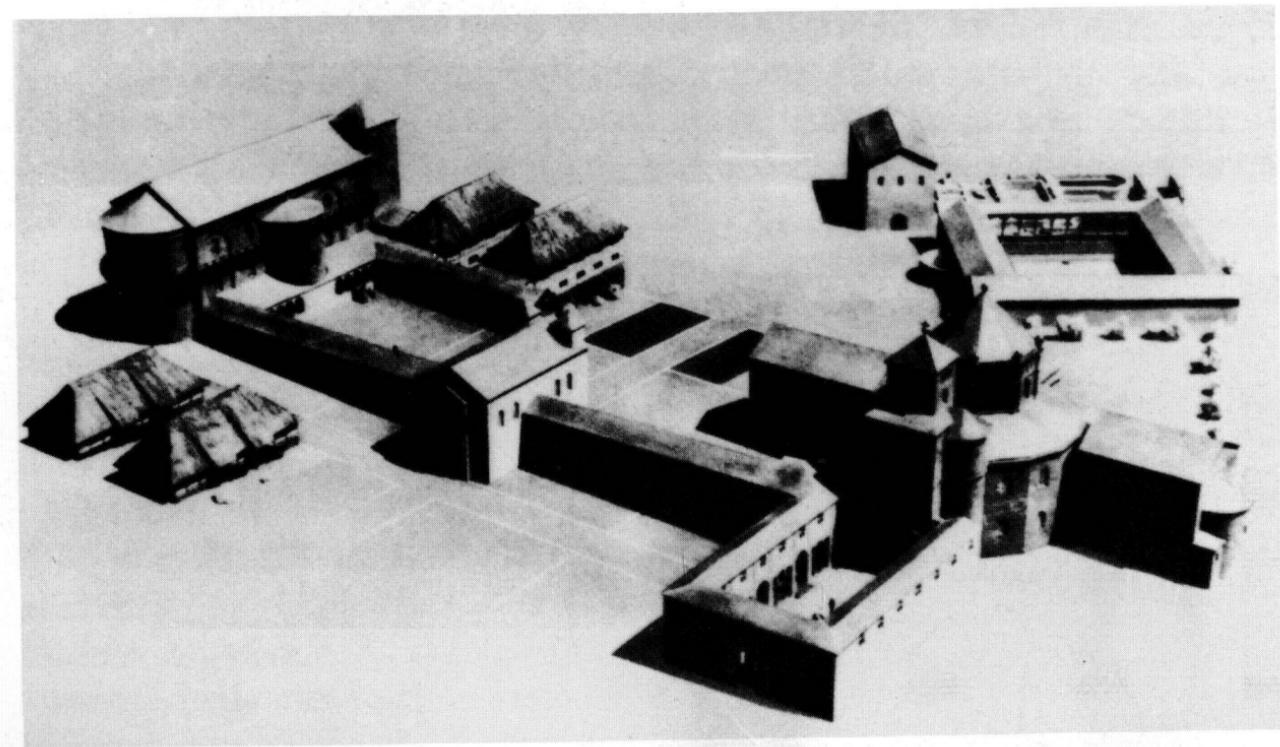
Plate 1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, cod. Douce 176, ivory cover (photo: Bodleian Library)



*Plate 2* Pictish symbol stone, from Hilton of Cadboll (photo: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh)



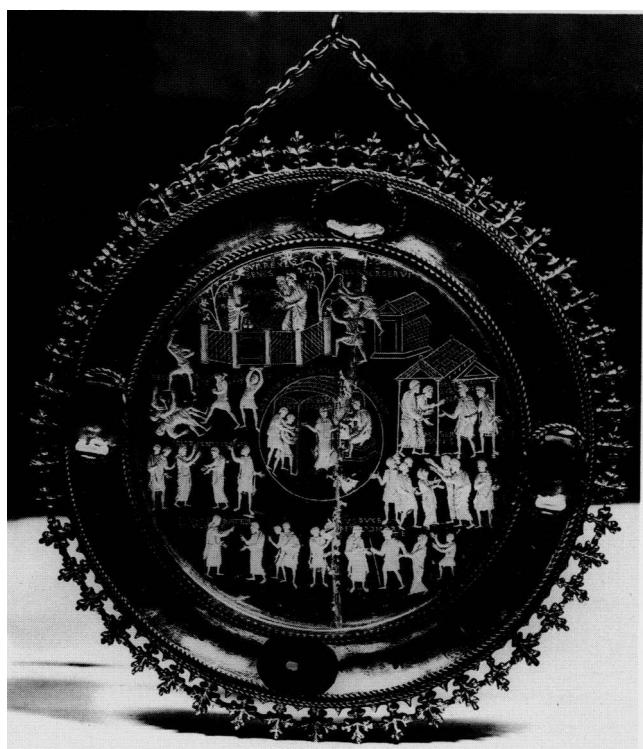
Plate 3 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Reg. lat. 124, fol. 4v, Hraban Maur,  
*De Laudibus S. Crucis*, Emperor Louis the Pious (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



*Plate 4* Aachen, Palace of Charlemagne, model by Leo Hugot (photo: Lawrence Nees)



*Plate 5* Hunterston brooch,  
National Museum of Anti-  
quities of Scotland, Edinburgh  
(photo: National Museums  
of Scotland)



*Plate 6* Susanna crystal,  
British Museum, London  
(photo: British Museum)



*Plate 7 Ruthwell cross, oblique view (photo: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh)*

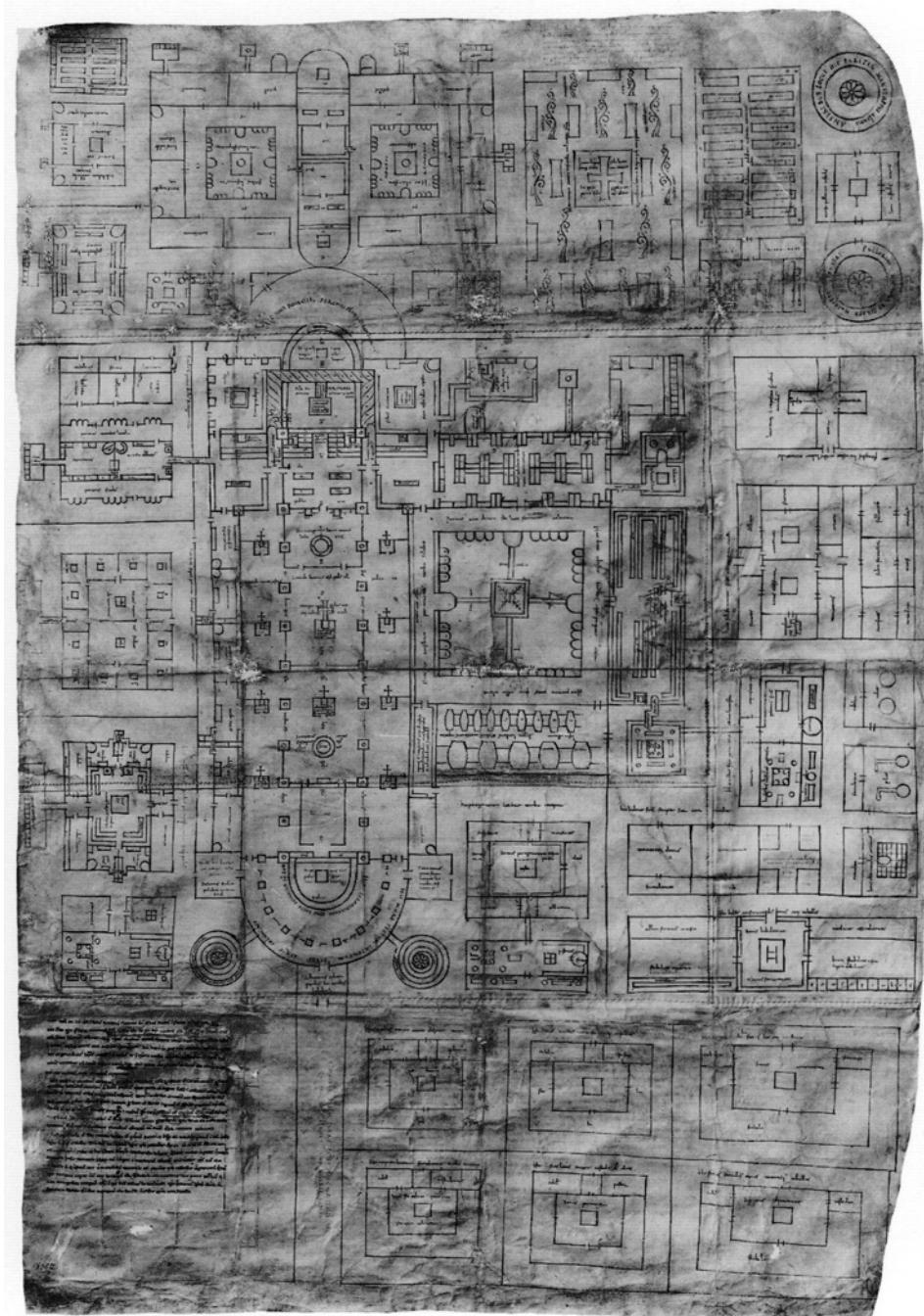


Plate 8 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 1092, Plan of St Gall (photo: Stiftsarchiv St Gallen)



Plate 9 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Pal. lat. 67, fol. 51, dedication page,  
Erembertus before St Martin (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

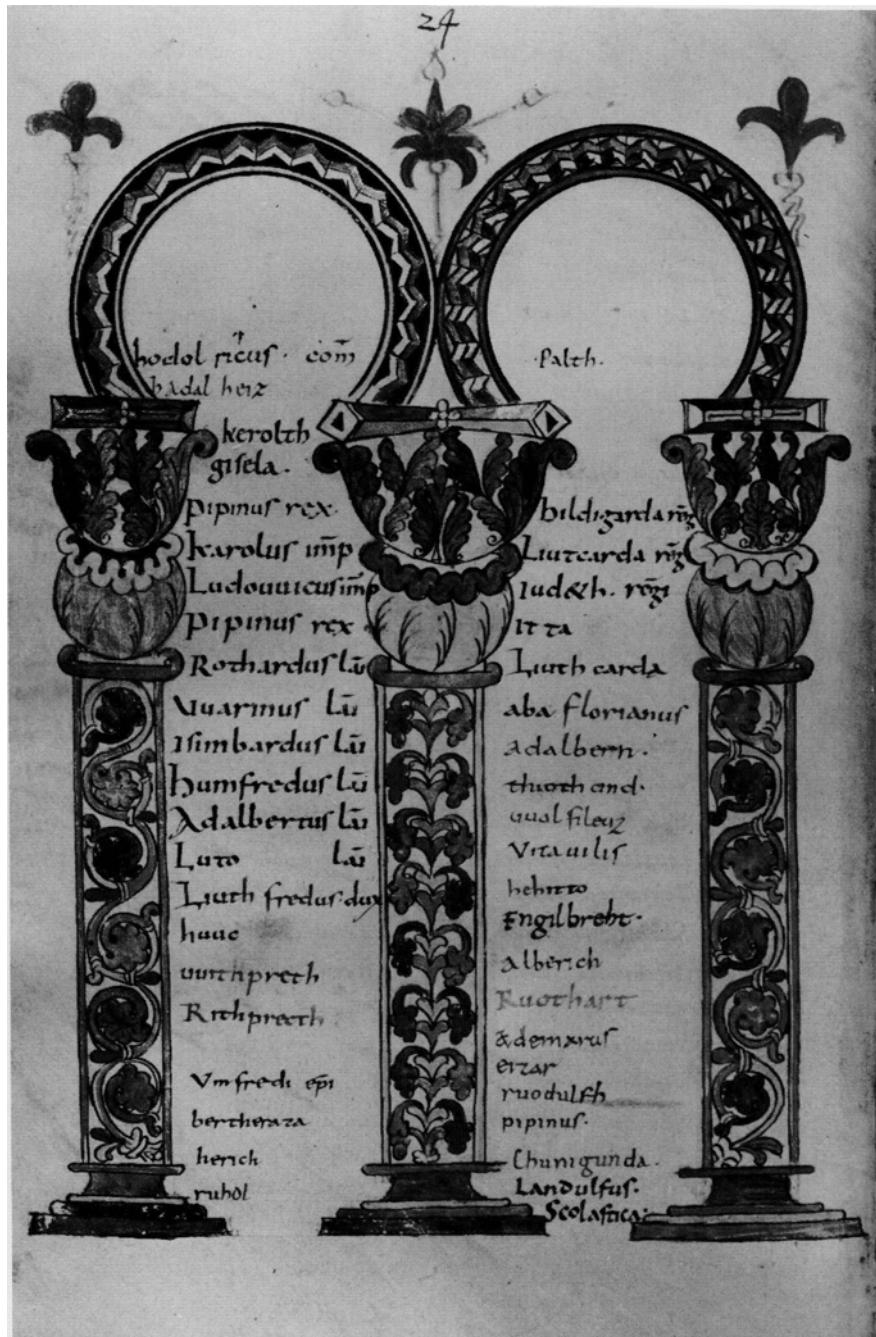


Plate 10 St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, cod. Fab. 1, p. 24, *Liber Viventium* from Pfäfers (photo: Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen).



Plate 11 Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, fol. 38v–39r, Crucifixion and Charles the Bald (from the Residenz, Upper Bavaria, Germany, 9th century. Cf. Fig. 11, 12.)



Plate 12 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 1, fol. 423r, Vivian Bible, Presentation of book to Charles the Bald (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

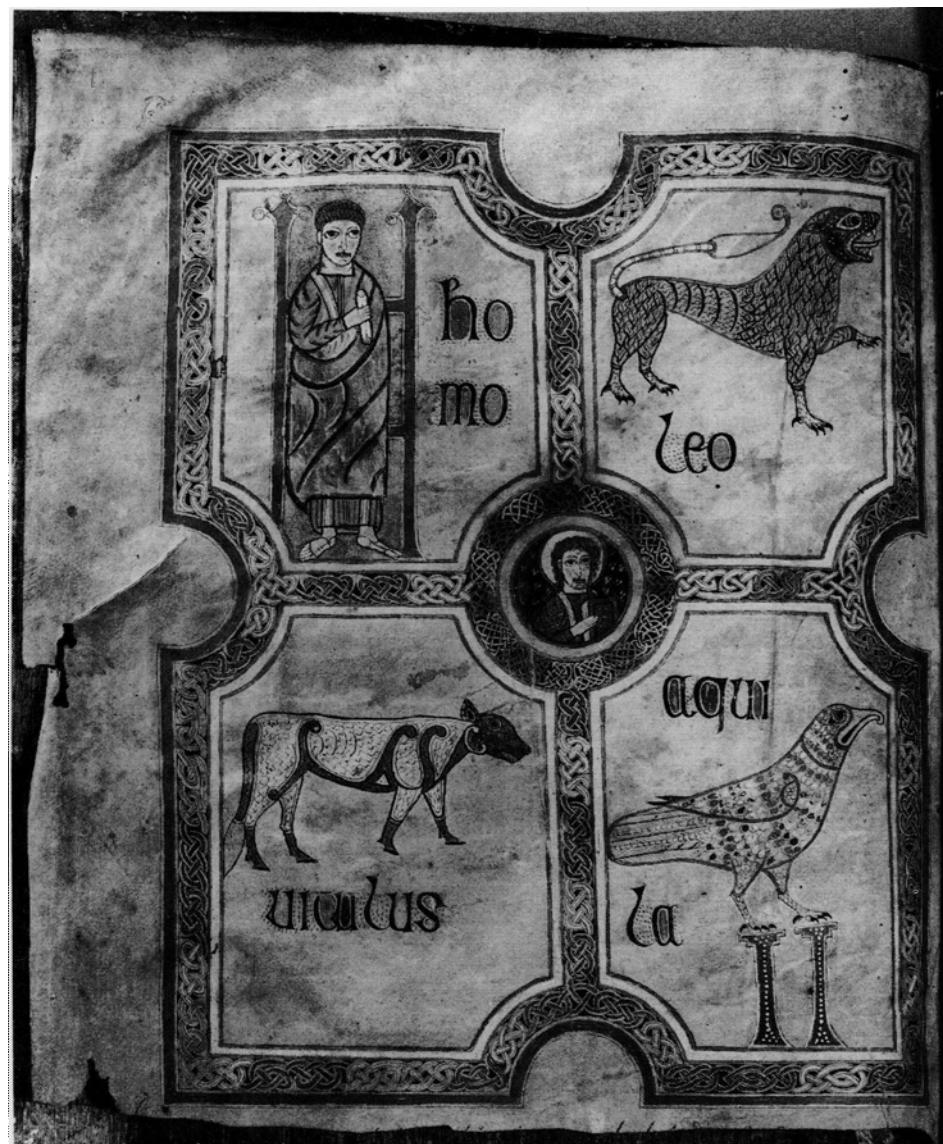


Plate 13 Trier, Domschatz, cod. 61, fol. 1v, Christ and Evangelist symbols (photo: Ann Münchow)



Plate 14 Germigny-des-Prés, Oratory of Theodulf, apse mosaic with Ark of the Covenant (photo: J. Feuillie/CNRS/EPHE/SPADEM)

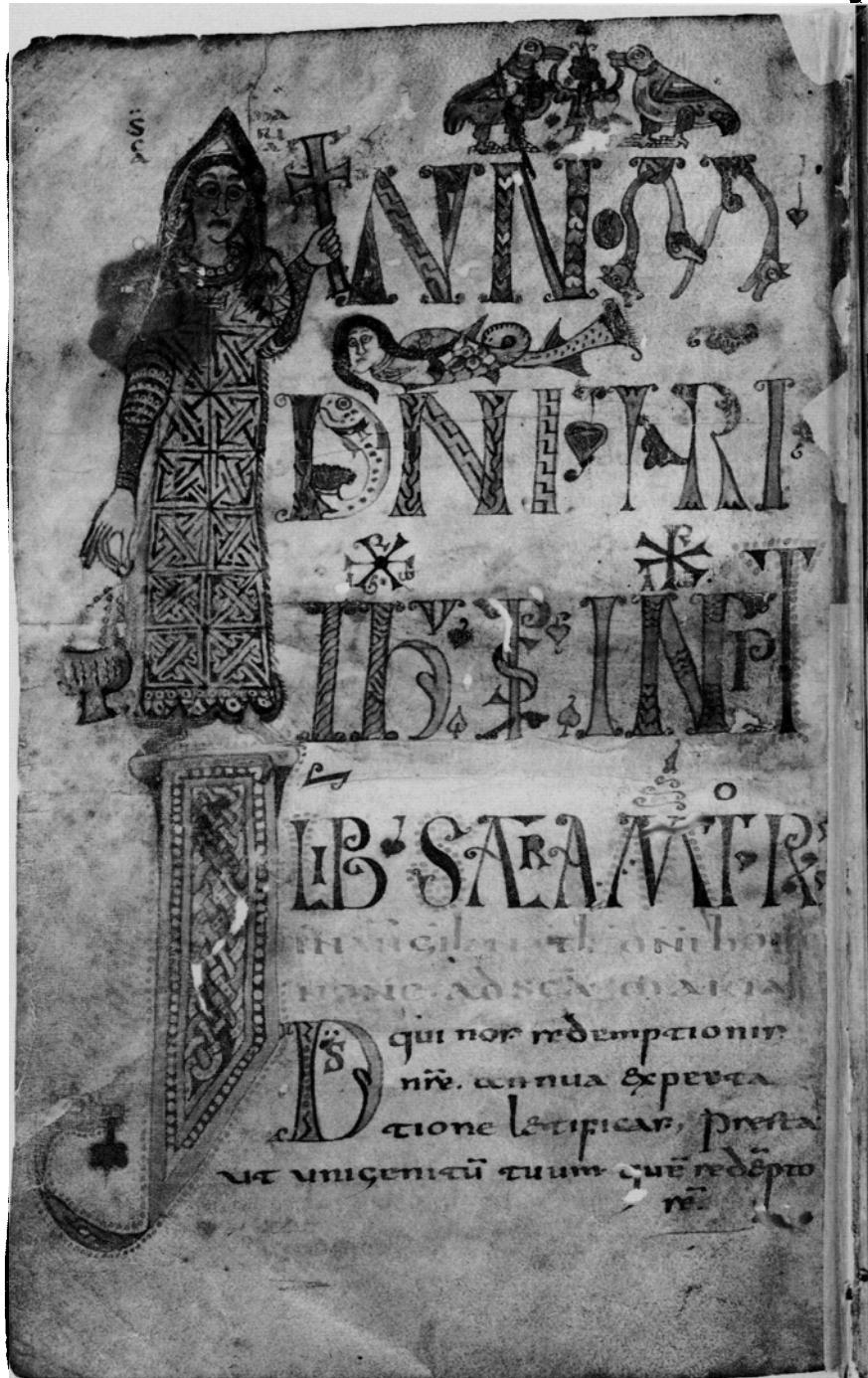


Plate 15 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 12048, fol. lv, Gellone Sacramentary,  
Virgin Mary (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



Plate 16 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 9428, fol. 15v, Drogo Sacramentary, Te  
igitur (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

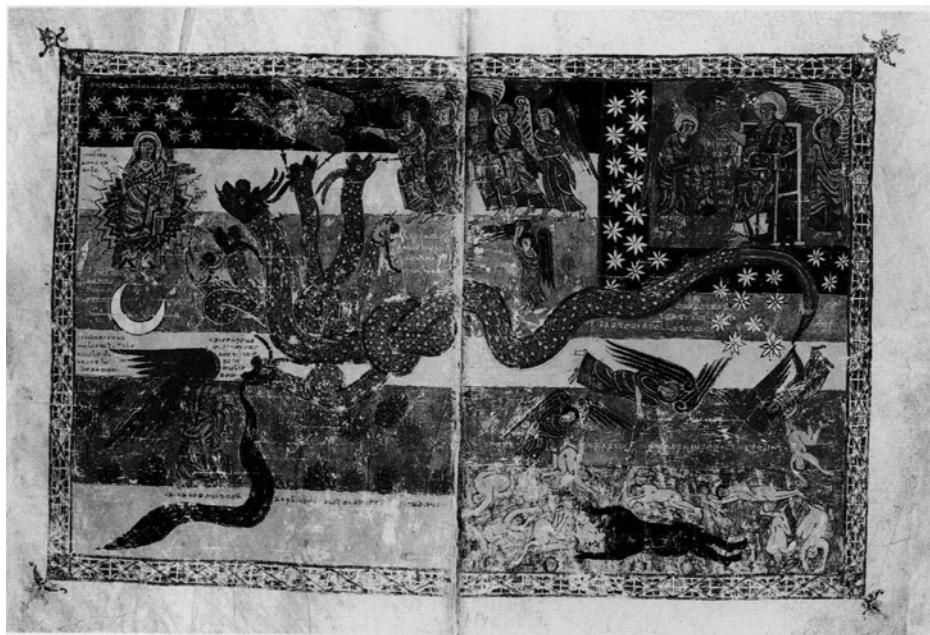


Plate 17 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, cod. M. 644, fols. 152v–153r, Morgan Beatus, Woman clothed in the Sun, and Dragon (photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)



Plate 18 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 4404, fols. 1v–2r, Legal collection, Emperor Theodosius with Roman lawyers (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

ote eum in choro &  
organo. . . . .  
audite eum in cim  
balis. benesonantib.  
laudate eum in cim  
balis. iubilationis om  
nis sp̄s laudet dñm.

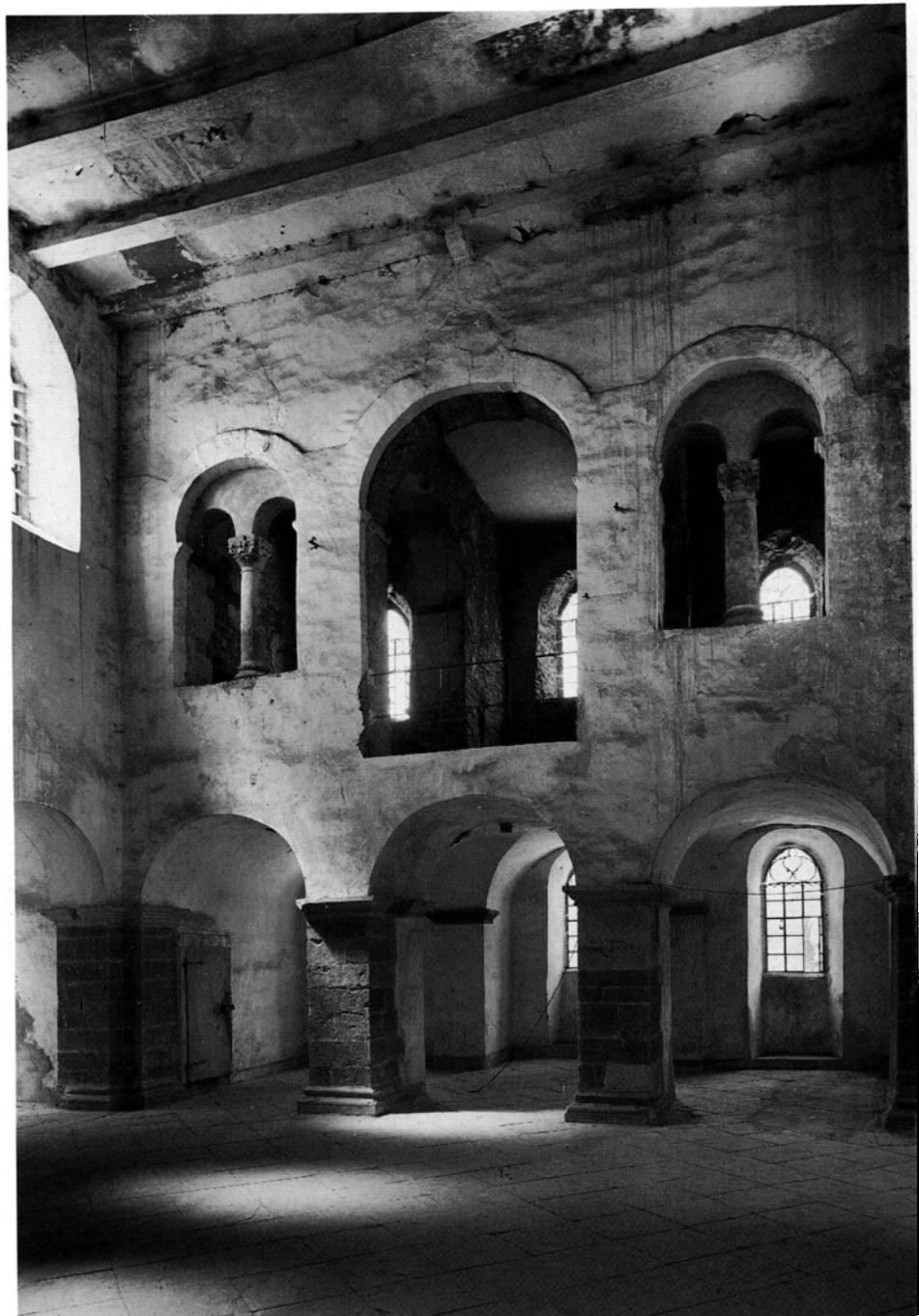
sed ne alia  
in quid inter  
pretribus e  
ritis est.

Bac p̄ SALmus  
PROPRIE scrip  
tus DAVID. et  
in manu mea  
sc̄m.

illata era  
inter fratres  
meos. & adu  
lescentior in  
domo patris mei  
pascedam oves  
patris mei.  
anus meae  
sacerunt organū



Plate 19 Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, cod. 18, fol. 123v, Corbie Psalter, David and Goliath (photo: Bibliothèque Municipale)



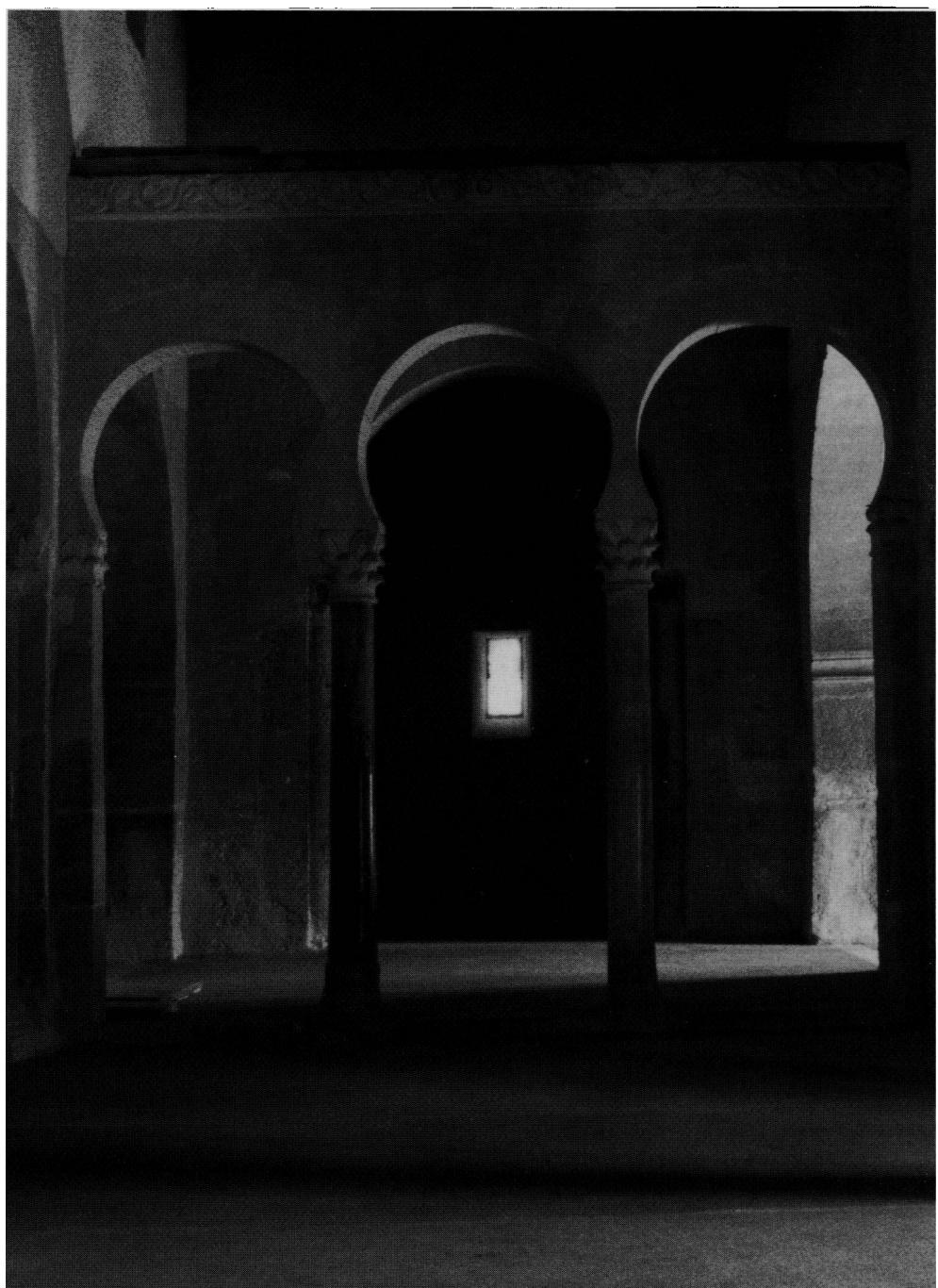
*Plate 20* Corvey, interior of western end (photo: Westfälisches Amt für Denkmalpflege)



Plate 21. Rome, Sta Prassede, interior towards apse (photo: ICCD, Roma, neg. E-112365)



Plate 22 Quintanilla de las Viñas, interior with entrance to chancel (photo: J. D. Dodds/  
C. A. Gifford)



*Plate 23* San Miguel de Escalada, interior (photo: J. D. Dodds/C. A. Gifford)

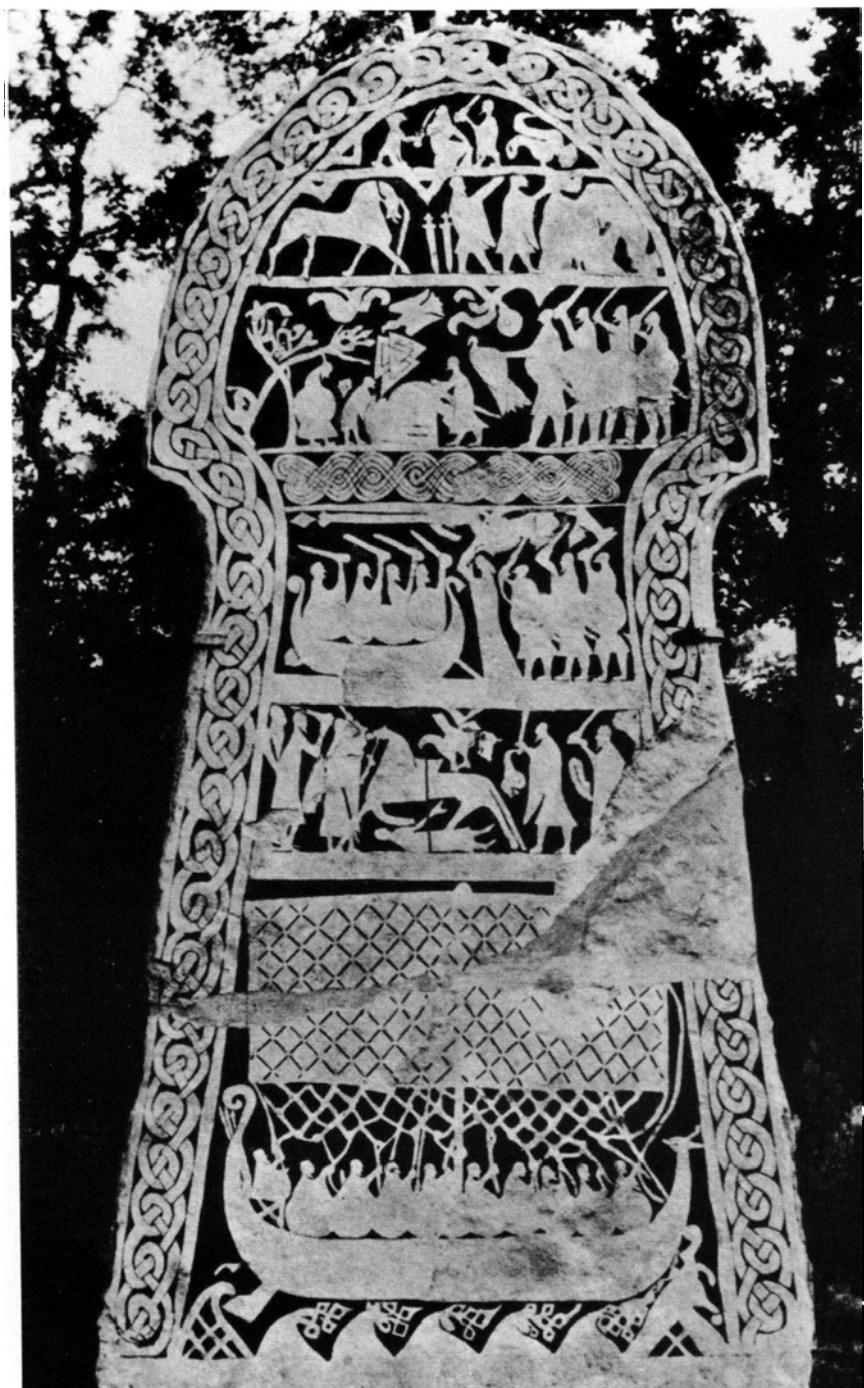


Plate 24 Lärbro, sculptured stele (Bunge Museum; photo: Lawrence Nees)



*Plate 25* Ahenny, North Cross (photo: Catherine Herbert)

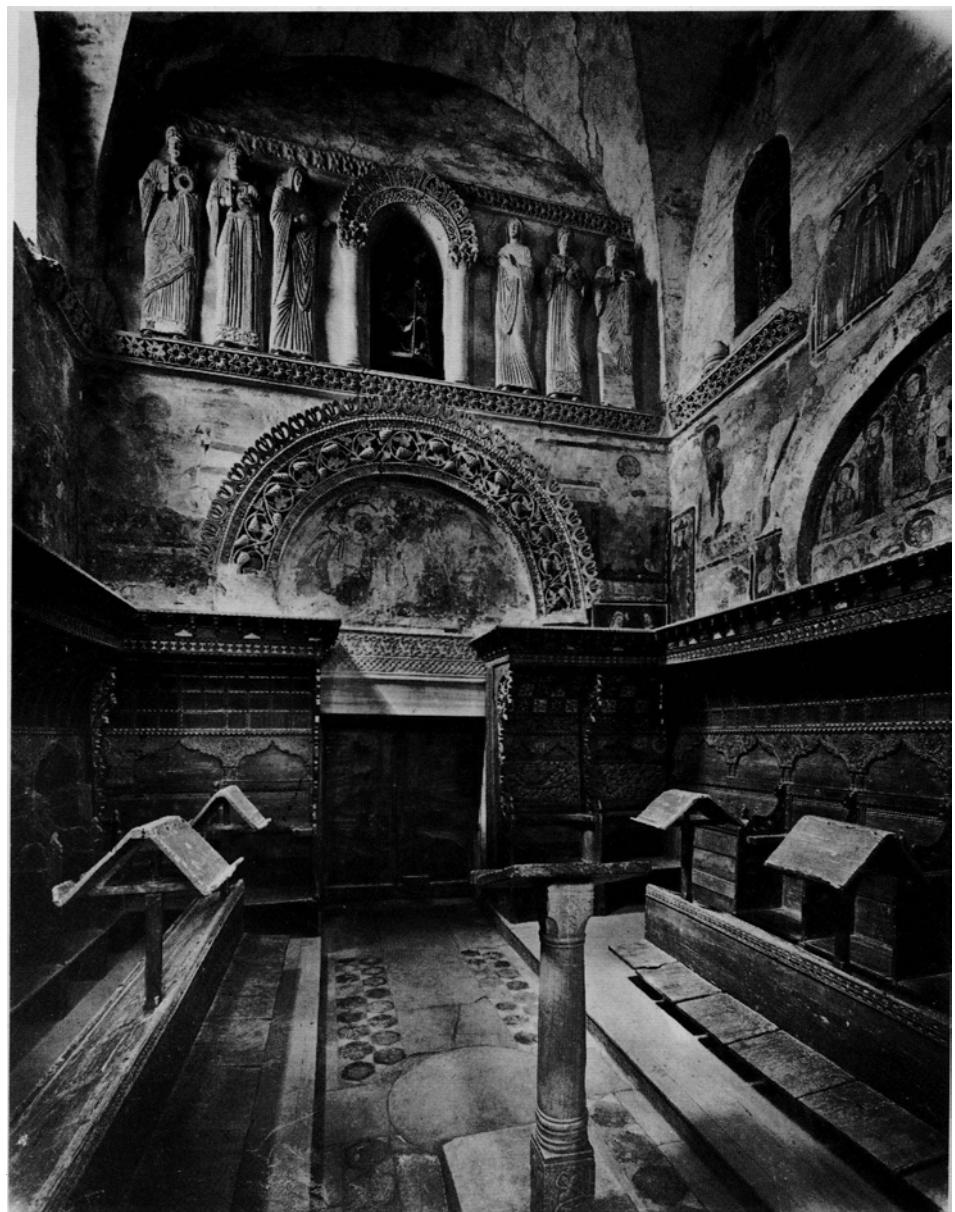


Plate 26 Cividale, Sta. Maria in Valle ('Tempietto'), entrance wall with stuccoes and wall-paintings (photo: ICCD, Roma, neg. E-115903)



Plate 27 Ivory with Ascension of Virgin and scenes of St Gall, by Tuotilo (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 53; photo: Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen)

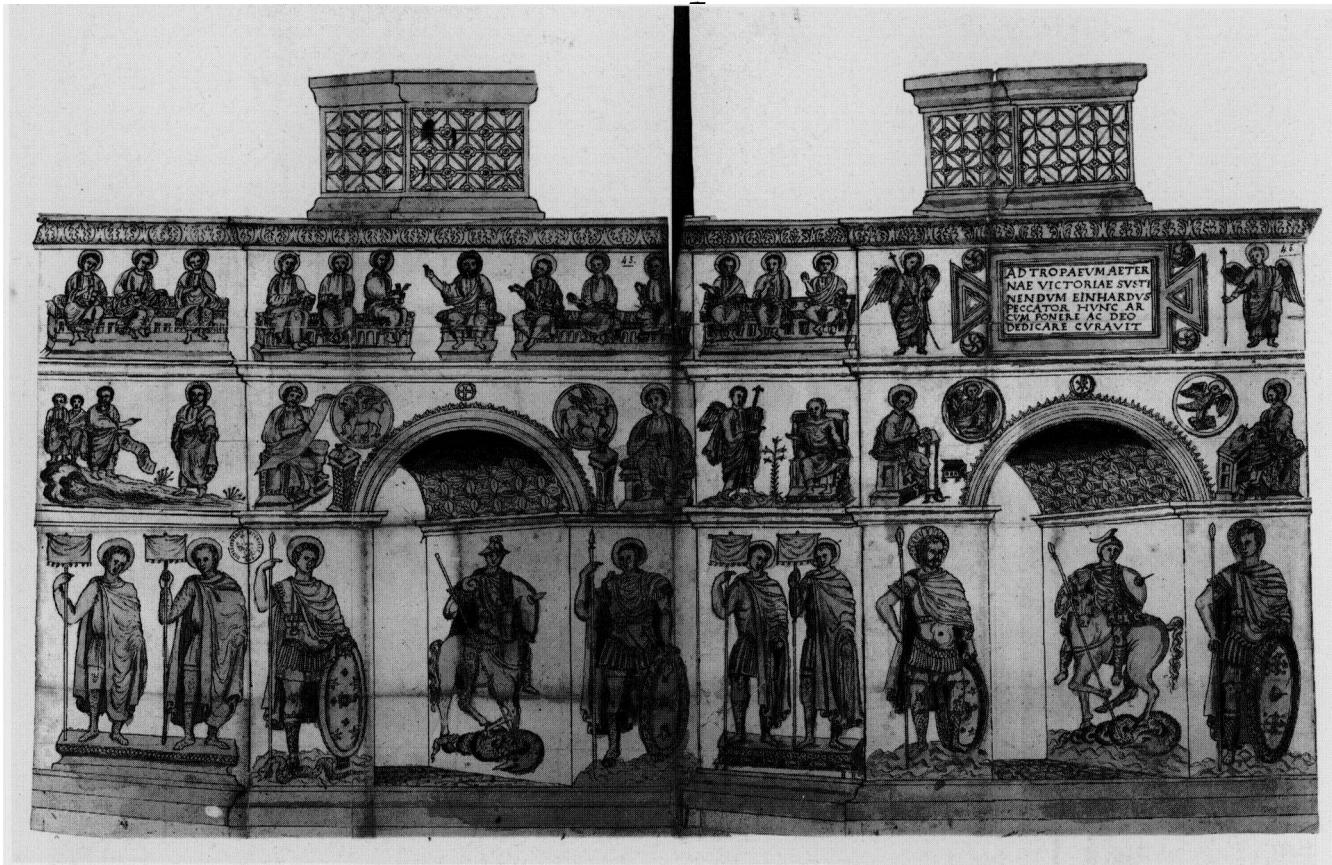


Plate 28 Drawing of lost Arch of Einhard (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. fr. 10440, fol. 45r; photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

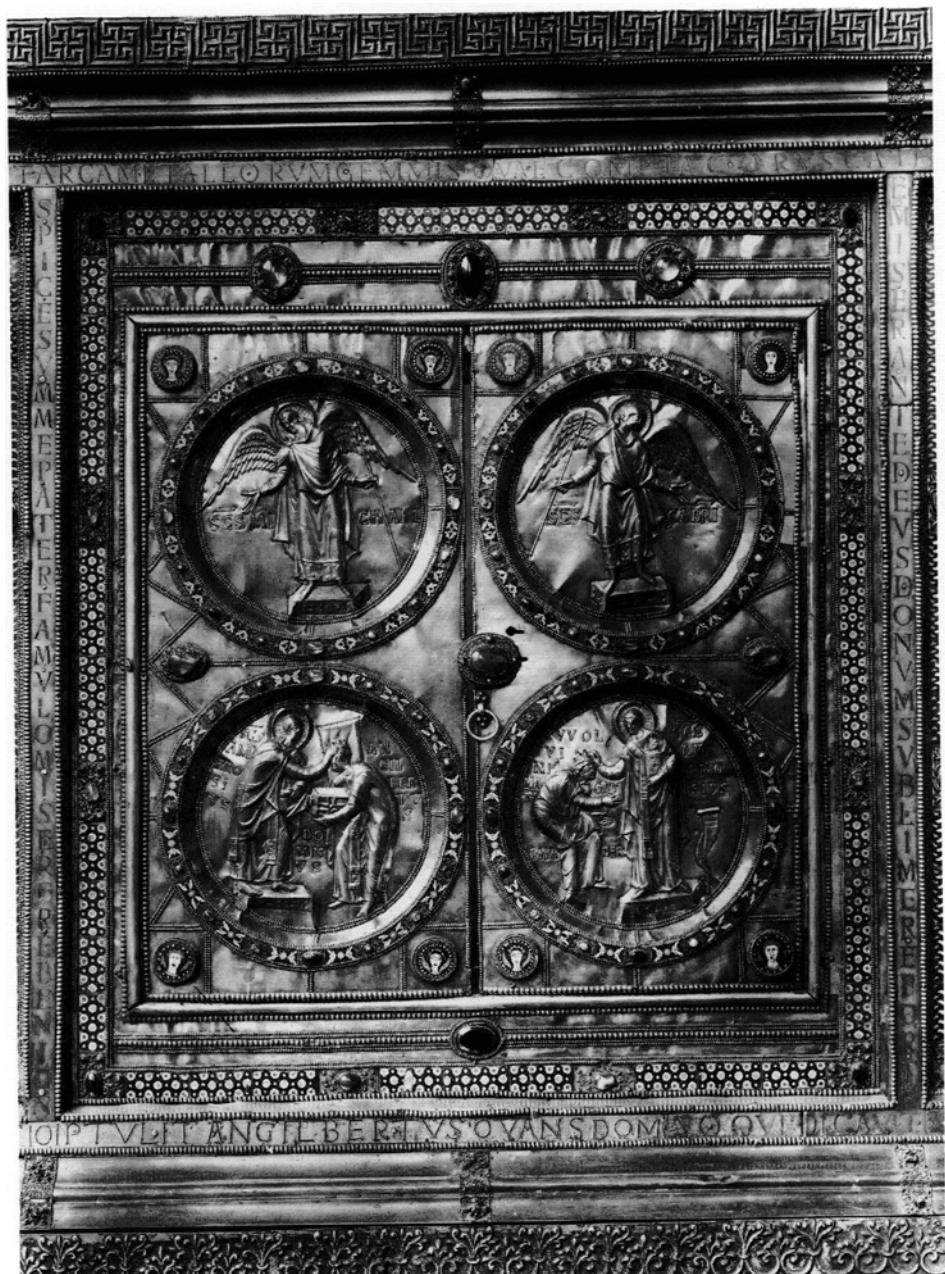
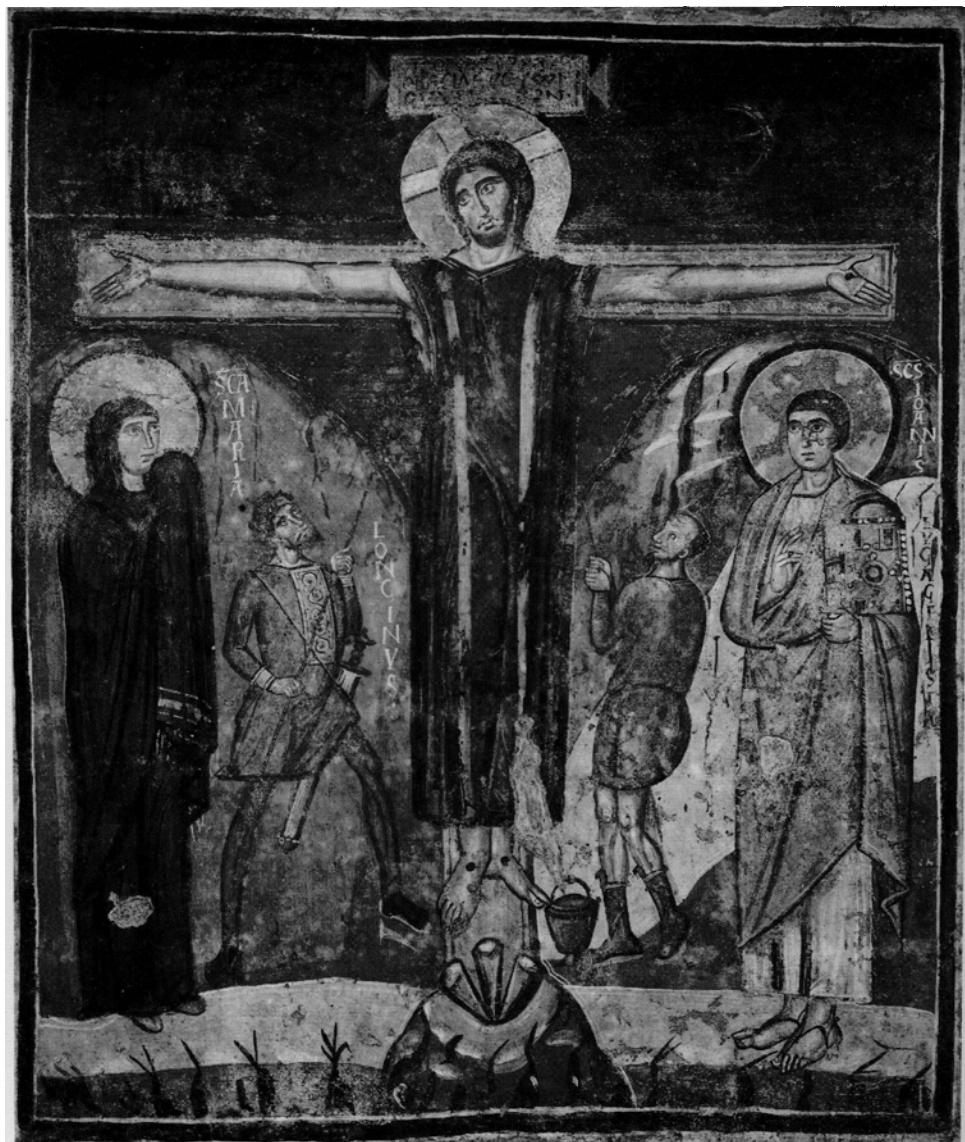


Plate 29 Milan, S. Ambrogio, altar of Wolvinus, back, detail: images of donor Angilbertus and artist Wolvinus (photo: Lawrence Nees)



*Plate 30* Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua, Chapel of Theodotus (photo: ICCD, Roma,  
neg. E-51242)

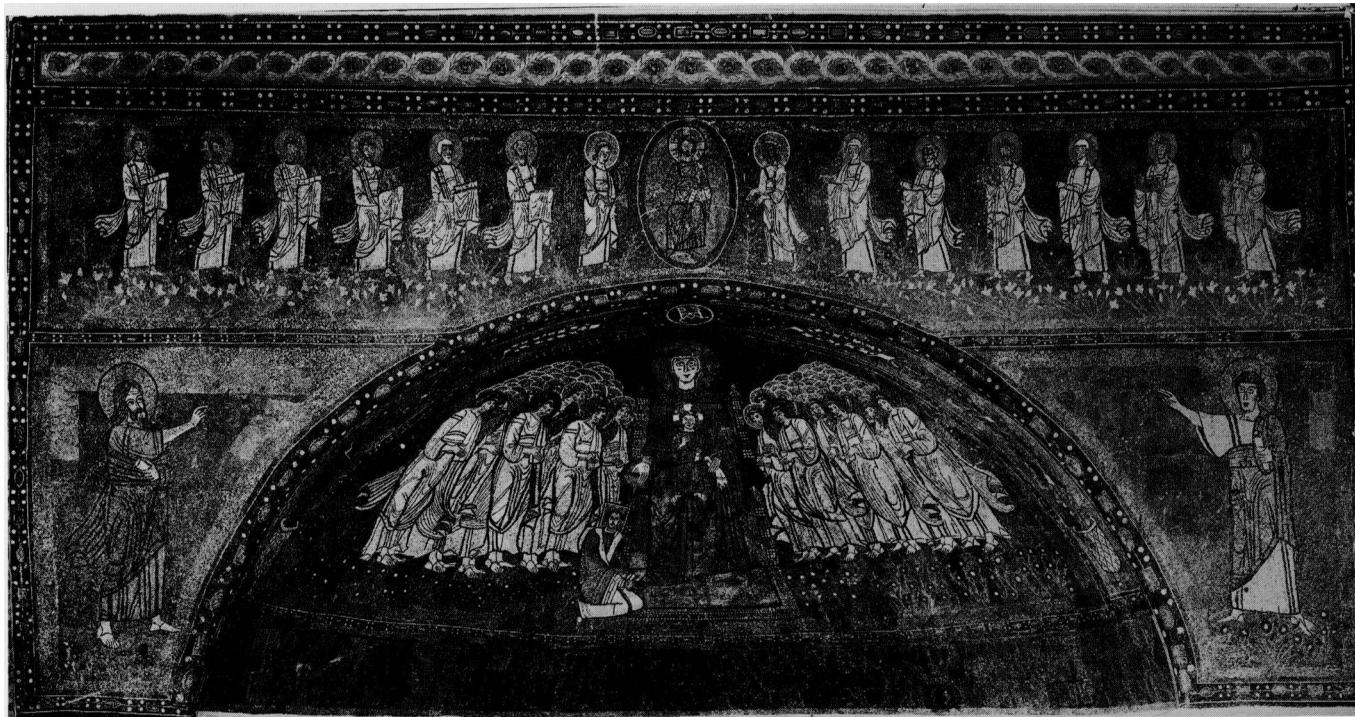


Plate 31 Rome, Sta Maria Domnica, apse, Virgin and Child with angels and Pope Paschal I, 817-24 (photo: ICCD, Roma, neg. E-52188)



Plate 32 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. n. a. lat. 1203, fols. 2v–3r, Godescalc Evangelistary,  
Evangelist John and Christ (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



Plate 33 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Barb. lat. 570, fol. 11v, Barberini (Wigbald) Gospels, Evangelist Matthew  
(photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



Plate 34 Essen Münsterschatz Gospels, pp. 55-6, Cross with Evangelist symbols, and initial page  
(photo: Lawrence Nees)

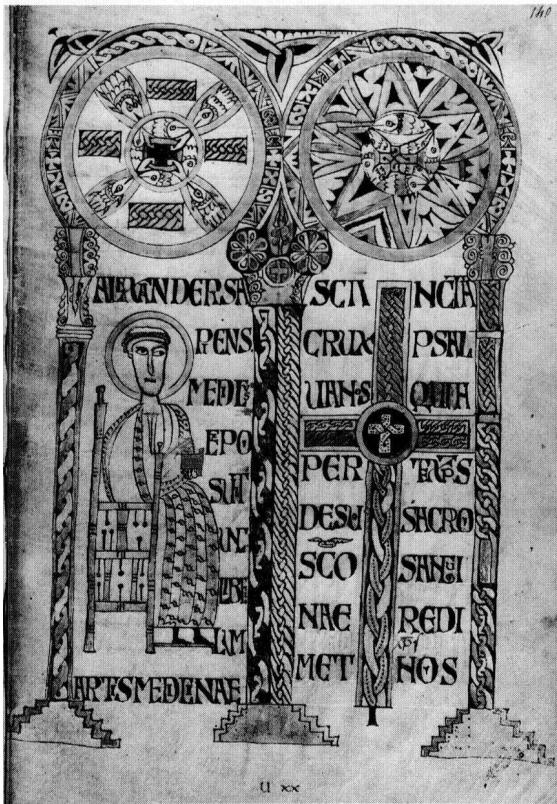


Plate 35 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 9332, fol. 140r,  
Medical compendium, Alexander medicus and salvific cross  
(photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

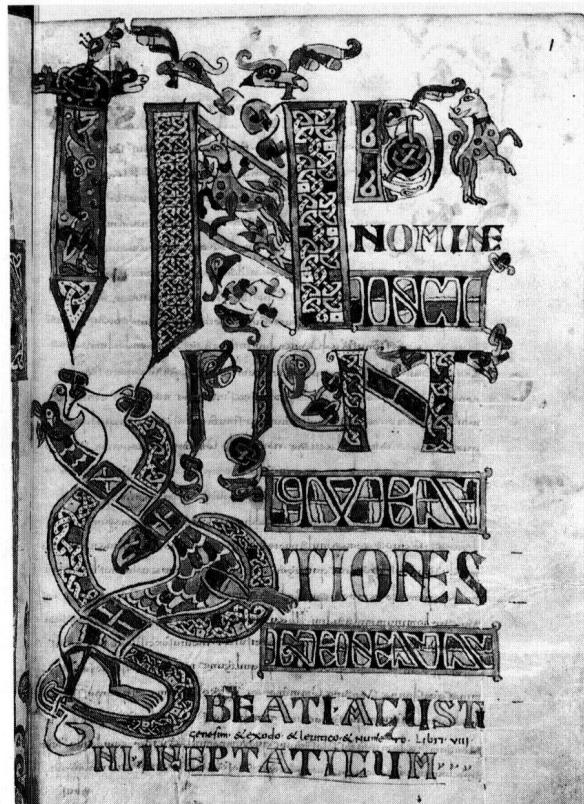


Plate 36 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 12168, fol. 1r,  
Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchon*, from Laon (photo:  
Bibliothèque Nationale)